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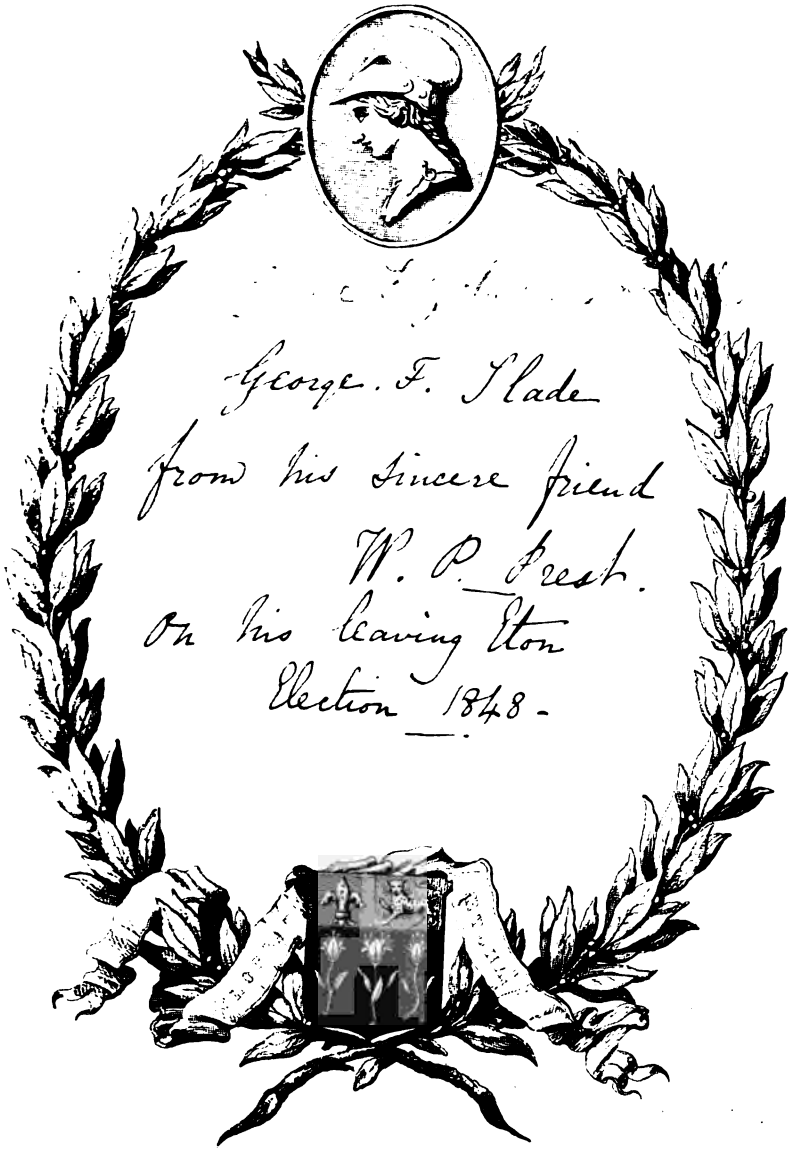

George. F. Slade
from his Sincere friend
W. P. Frest.
On his leaving Eton
Election 1848.

MOHAMMED ALI.
Pascha of Egypt.
Ætatis suæ 72

THE

MODERN HISTORY AND CONDITION

OF

E G Y P T,

ITS CLIMATE, DISEASES, AND CAPABILITIES;

EXHIBITED IN A

PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF TRAVELS IN THAT COUNTRY:

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF

MOHAMMED ALI PASCHA,

FROM 1801 TO 1843;

INTERSPERSED

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE HISTORY,

THE FULFILMENT OF PROPHECY,

AND

THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION IN THE EAST.

BY

WILLIAM HOLT YATES, M.D.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS IN LONDON, GRADUATE OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF CAMBRIDGE AND EDINBURGH, SENIOR PHYSICIAN TO THE GENERAL DISPENSARY, MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN, PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL MEDICAL AND ROYAL PHYSICAL SOCIETIES OF EDINBURGH, ETC.

"L'univers est un gros livre dont celui qui n'a jamais voyagé, ressemble à quelqu'un qui n'a lu que la première page."

IN TWO VOLUMES, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

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1843.

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PREFACE.

It is not a little extraordinary, that although so many works have appeared on Egypt, we have no history of the country since 1807, when General Fraser's unfortunate expedition was undertaken, after the expulsion of the French by Nelson, Abercrombie, Smith, and Hutchinson. No countries have excited greater interest in the public mind than Egypt and Syria; and none are likely to engage a larger share of attention in time to come. During more than forty years, a struggle between the two leading Powers of Europe has been maintained for political ascendancy in the East, and many have been the schemes for preserving the balance of power in the Mediterranean, and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The appearance of the French in Egypt was a signal for the advancement of bold and enterprizing characters; and it became the stepping-stone to the fortunes of Mohammed Ali, through whose prowess, extraordinary shrewdness, and desperate measures, innovation upon Mussulmaun prejudices, and the consequent breaking down of the most formidable barrier to the advancement of Christianity and civilization, in fulfilment of the mysterious and wonderful designs of Providence, has (unconsciously on his part) been effected. I have given a sketch of the life of this extraordinary man, and traced

the means by which he rose from obscurity to rank and power. No sooner did he effect that object, than he began to take measures for the assertion of his independence, which led to a chain of important events, which, as we have seen, were likely to have involved the whole of Europe in a war. Of these events we have no connected record, although the great doings of the Pascha of Egypt have been the universal topic of conversation. For a long period, very erroneous notions were entertained concerning them, in consequence of the garbled statements of interested parties, more especially the French, who (having so engaged His Highness' good graces that he would listen to nobody else) made a point of flattering his vanity, and of crying him up to all Europe, and, I may add,—through the silence also of many respectable and experienced travellers, who were thoroughly acquainted with the real condition of the country, and might have disabused the public mind. But this, I apprehend, is no longer the case: the Pascha's policy is seen through and understood; and though it may suit the purpose of merchants and the East India Company's agents to compliment him from time to time, these gentlemen are too intelligent and too humane to shut their eyes and their hearts to the eloquent appeals which are continually made to them by the patient but wretched population of Egypt. They may not be aware of the full extent of the Pascha's avarice and monopoly, but they cannot be altogether ignorant of the misery which his reckless ambition has entailed upon his subjects. The objects then of this work are, *first*, for want of a more complete history, to furnish a record of passing events since the battle of the Nile in 1801, but more especially during

the last twelve years:—*secondly*, to bring before the reader a faithful and impartial account of the Pascha's character and proceedings, and an undisguised statement of the condition of the country:—with, *lastly*, observations on the climate, its diseases and capabilities—the whole being exhibited in a personal Narrative of the Author's intercourse with the people during a long residence in the East.

In order really to understand the character of an uncivilized people, it is necessary to mix with all classes, and to see them under every variety of circumstance, in sickness and in health, in prosperity and in trouble; but the generality of those who quit the "Halls of their Fathers" to wander in more distant regions, very naturally shun the abode of misery, and are deterred from entering the habitations of the poor, lest they should contract some pestilential disease; and others are so delicately constituted, that their feelings revolt at sights which they are compelled to witness, even in the public streets. The medical man, however, who is accustomed to such scenes, and who is regarded by barbarians with superstitious veneration, has opportunities of eliciting the *real* sentiments and feelings of a nation, which none but a medical man can expect to meet with; and I do not hesitate to assert that in Syria and Asia Minor, I have been well received, in districts where others would have met with rough usage, being mistaken for spies and the secret agents of hostile tribes—to say nothing of the mistaken zeal of fanatical bigots, to which all are more or less exposed. The sick, the halt, and the blind were brought down to me in great numbers wherever I went, hoping that I would "lay my hands on them, and heal them." I administered to their necessities as

far as circumstances permitted, which called forth their gratitude, and obtained for me their entire confidence: they laid aside their wonted caution, and did not hesitate to unburden their thoughts, which they certainly would not have done to an ordinary stranger, for reasons which will appear in the sequel. But the narrative of a traveller is always best appreciated by those who have trodden the same ground: it unfortunately happens that, owing to the great variety of contending interests, very discrepant accounts obtain a ready circulation, and the public at large have no means of knowing what they ought to believe. Again, some readers, of an ardent imagination, not unfrequently suffer their eyes to be dazzled by the superficial gloss of ingenuity, and judge of a work rather by the manner than the matter, and are thus in danger of being led into error. A tale well told may amuse, though it instruct us little: an author may be more remarkable for his talent than perspicuity;—his pictures may be overdrawn,—and having once discovered that an historian mixes fable with his facts, we remain in doubt as to what is real, and may possibly regard the whole as a romance. The following pages profess to contain no more than plain *matter-of-fact*, and if at any time an opinion is given, it is only after carefully examining the subject in all its bearings. I frequently meet with statements copied chiefly from foreign journals, which have obviously emanated from the Pascha's agents, and which any impartial observer, who is practically acquainted with the political machinery of Mohammed Ali, well knows to be false from beginning to end; yet the articles are well written, and calculated to deceive the most intelligent. Those who have resided some time in Egypt,

will doubtless find many things here recorded which are familiar to them; and if to such persons they do not offer the attraction of novelty, they may at least claim the merit of accuracy. To all such I can with confidence appeal; and I am satisfied that whoever has visited the East as I did, on his own account, as an *independent* traveller, will, without hesitation, confirm all that I have advanced,—although, as regards the correctness of my inferences, I am liable to fallacy like other men. I have simply related what I saw, and what I know to be true; and having no private interests to serve, I feel myself in a position to speak my sentiments without reserve: but the better to enable the reader to draw his own conclusions, I have adduced the evidence of others, whose judgment, experience, and principles are worthy of respect.

No man can travel in these countries without seeing a great deal to admire: to such I have given my unqualified approbation, and, in some cases, I have even ventured to bring them in competition with those of civilized Europe, feeling that we might profit by the comparison: but I am sorry to say, that we also see a great deal which every man of principle must condemn. We cannot always judge other nations by the standard of European excellence; and whilst writing this work, I have often paused to consider what I should say, and how I should act respecting those things which I could not approve. Willingly I would have passed the subject over in silence, but I felt that I could not conscientiously do so. I conceived that if I wrote at all, the public had a right to know the truth. In justice to mankind, every author ought to forget himself, and be ready to bear the anger of those who, from interested

motives, are not in a situation to express their real sentiments.

The termination of the Syrian campaigns, the ascendency of British influence, and the Overland communicaiion with India, have turned the public attention to Egypt more particularly; and although I speak generally of Syria and the Turkish Empire, my observations refer chiefly to the banks of the Nile. The present is a most important epoch in the history of the world, and it is interesting to watch the changes which are taking place. I have commented on the progress of civilization, and illustrated Scripture by facts, customs, and the fulfilment of ancient prophecy: and I am not without hope that my remarks may tend, in some degree to counteract the spirit of infidelity which has, of late years, been gradually insinuating itself throughout Europe: nevertheless, the publication cannot be considered a religious one. I have adopted the style of a narrative, and carefully avoided politics, attaching myself to no party. My opportunities in the country were known to be extensive, being in daily communication with natives and Europeans; and since my return, I have kept up a regular correspondence with public and official individuals. I am in possession of important documents relative to the late crisis, and I have preserved from authentic sources, faithful records of passing events up to the present date; so that, although I have refrained from entering upon those minutiæ and political reasonings, which characterize purely historical writings, these volumes will be found to contain every thing which is important in reference to Mohammed Ali and his own times. I have continually appealed to the Pascha's actions, be-

cause I do not admire his principles; but I have, at the same time, pointed out in what way his despotic measures are calculated to do good.

As regards the antiquities, I have nothing new to offer, and I do not profess to write about them: nevertheless, I have not passed them over in silence. We have many excellent works on the subject, and to these I have referred. The same may be said of the ancient and natural history of Egypt, the manners and customs of the Aborigines, and the religious rites and ceremonies of that mysterious, talented, and extraordinary people, who for centuries held the world in awe, and taught our fathers wisdom. I have alluded to all these things *en passant*, and I trust in a way which will prove useful: for it has been my earnest wish to adduce such facts only as are historically incontrovertible, and the legitimate inferences from which are calculated to instruct the understanding, and improve the heart. I have endeavoured to lay before the reader in a simple, plain, and unpretending form, circumstances which, whilst they illustrate the fulfilment of prophecy, will convince him of the utter insignificance of all human wisdom, when not regulated by virtuous principles, and which, if duly reflected on, will leave a just and lasting impression upon his mind, of the awful judgments denounced against the wicked, and which, as the Bible testifies, were so literally and fearfully brought to pass. I have commented on the rise and fall of nations, the progress of Science and the Arts—the baneful effects of education without religion —the folly of intellectual, and still more, of *worldly* pride—the terrible consequences of idolatry and superstition,—the defection of the Jews, on whom such signal blessings had been lavished, their captivity, dis-

persion, and promised restoration, their recent persecution—the sufferings of the early Christians—the present state of the Protestant Church, and the propagation of the true Gospel, in spite of the pernicious innovations of presumptuous and corrupt men. I have, moreover, considered the religion of Mohammed,—the spiritual darkness which for ages overshadowed the earth—the persecution of the sword—the decline of Islamism, and the extensive changes which are now going on in the East—together with the remarkable subserviency of all worldly institutions, and the schemes of ambitious men (established as they are for secular, if not for *selfish* purposes,) to the accomplishment of the great and beneficent designs of Providence, viz., the *progress of Christianity, and Civilization, and the ultimate Unity of Christ's Church!*

"There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will!"

SHAKSPEARE.

"When the proud steed shall know why man restrains
His fiery course, or drives him o'er the plains;
When the dull ox, why now he breaks the clod,
Is now a victim, and now Egypt's god;
Then shall man's pride and dullness comprehend
His actions', passions', being's use and end;
Why doing, suffering, check'd, impell'd; and why
This hour a slave, the next a deity.
Then say not man's imperfect, Heaven in fault;
Say, rather, man's as perfect as he ought;
His knowledge measur'd to his state and place;
His time a moment, and a point his space.
If to be perfect in a certain sphere,
What matter, soon or late, or here, or there?
The blest to-day is as completely so,
As who began a *thousand years ago*.

Heaven from all creatures hides the book of fate,
All but the page prescrib'd,—their present state;
From brutes what men, from men what spirits know;
Or who could suffer being here below?
The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,
Had he thy reason, would he skip and play?
Pleas'd to the last, he crops the flowery food,
And licks the hand just raised to shed his blood.
Oh blindness to the future! kindly given,
That each may fill the circle mark'd by Heaven;
Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish, or a sparrow fall,
Atoms or systems into ruin hurl'd,
And now a bubble burst, and now—a world.
Hope *humbly* then; with *trembling* pinions soar,
Wait the great teacher, Death; and God adore."

POPE.

Woburn-place, Russell-square,
November 17, 1842.

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THE

MODERN CONDITION OF EGYPT.

ERRATA.

Vol. I.

In the list of Illustrations, *for* " Ruin and Port of Soli," *read* " Ruins and Port of Soli."
Page 420, *for* " Cerisier," *read* " De Cerier ;" and in the Index, under the head of " Cerisier," *omit* folios 222, 229, 237, 238.
Page 438, *for* " Houran," *read* " Haouran."

Vol. II.

Page 52, *for* " Emir Ismail Imblât," *read* " Scheikh Ismail D'Gimblat."
Heading of page 61, *for* " Agriculturalist," *read* " Agriculturist."
Page 621, *for* " Mr. Hirschil," *read* " the late Dr. Herschell."
Page 640, *for* " Dispensary," *read* " Hospital."
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during my stay, but none of them were bound to Egypt. Some came from Constantinople and Alexandria; others from Smyrna and Trieste, and occasionally a brig or sloop-of-war, bearing dispatches from the Admiral, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who at that time, hoisted his flag at Ægina. Thus was I destined to be tantalized; and I began to lose all patience. Every thing seemed to thwart my inclination. In vain, I took my accustomed walk upon the ramparts

and the terraces of Valetta: in vain, I stretched my neck over the sea, and strained my eyes to discover a sail upon the horizon that might possibly be propitious to my views. I walked, and looked, and lamented my hard fate to all I met. I questioned the sailors; I consulted the merchants, but always with the same success; I had no alternative but *to wait.* A lover expecting the arrival of his mistress—one who was "the ocean to the river of his thoughts,"—or an unhappy convict doomed to expiate his crimes upon the fatal tree, unless, by the end of a short respite whose sand was nearly run out, the expected reprieve or acquittal should arrive, could not have gazed with more eagerness over the wide expanse of the waters which bound the rocks of Malta, than I did. Full of expectation, every morning and evening I strolled down to the exchange, to ascertain if any new arrivals or departures were announced. Would I have gone to England, there were opportunities enough; but it seemed as if Egypt were indeed the land of the pestilence, and that all communication with her had ceased.

Almost in despair, I set off the next morning to pay a visit on board the "Rattlesnake,"* and tell my melancholy tale to the officers. I accompanied Mr. Wm. Hemsley, the first master, a most worthy intelligent man, to the dock-yard, where he kindly pointed out and explained the most interesting objects. At parting, he advised me not to be in too great a hurry about a ship, as it was a matter of importance, and there could be no doubt that something would soon turn up to my advantage. I thanked him for his kindness, and

* A British sloop-of-war, on board which, through the kindness of the honourable Captain Bridgeman, I sailed from Corfu. She carried twenty-eight guns.

hailing one of the shore boats, returned to the "stairs" —*nix mangiare stairs!**

I had scarcely taken my leave, when my attention was arrested by the approach of a heavy Dutch-built smack of about eighty or ninety tons, making for that part of the harbour where her country's colours were flying, and where she presently let go her anchor close alongside a Dutch man-of-war brig. Any sort of craft under sail at that moment would have given me pleasure, for it was blowing pretty fresh, and the weather was fine, though somewhat cloudy. At first I felt tempted to speak with her; but after friend Hemsley's advice, I thought it best to defer it until the next day, notwithstanding I would willingly put to sea with the Dutch.

In the morning I walked down to the Exchange as usual; for it had now become a habit, and I had almost given up the idea of getting to Alexandria by a direct course; when, what was my surprise, to see the Dutchman posted in large and legible characters, "Mynheer Von ——," no matter what! "arrived yesterday from Amsterdam—to proceed in a few days to Alexandria!" It was new life to me! Down stairs I went—'spite of "mangiare" and the beggars, and without consulting Hemsley. Ho! for the Dutchman!—I jumped into a boat, and in a few seconds, came on board. Mynheer was very busy and very civil; gave me a taste of his "schedam," which was very

* Those who are acquainted with Malta have thus designated the landing-place, in consequence of the language employed by the beggars who crowd about the spot, to the infinite annoyance of the unfortunate passengers, who are compelled to pass up the almost interminable steps, pursued by these importunate individuals, who range themselves on either side, and keep up an incessant din to the tune of "Pover miserab uomo! Signor! mangiare,—nix mangiare! nix mangiare, Sir! six weeks!!"

nice, took me below, where every thing was very clean, but very small—no room to spare, but very snug. The nature of my errand was soon told!—"very happy to take me!—make me comfortable!—had a quick passage!—stout bark, very safe! no spare room, but a spare berth: very snug!—happy of my company," &c. In short, the Mynheer seemed a very reasonable, respectable, straight forward, honest, good sort of man: and as the stout gentleman would say, "no nonsense about him!" To tell the truth, I was quite satisfied with the interview: and I almost fancied myself in Alexandria. He referred me to his agents, and I began to think that I really should tread the shores of Africa.

I confess my ardour was a little damped when I discovered that Mynheer was *expecting* a cargo of iron, which, it was said, was *looked for every hour!* This, I thought, was a very poor prospect. I had already suffered enough in this way at Trieste, where I was put off by the captain of a fine Austrian brig of 300 tons, from day to day, for upwards of a month; and after all, had to drag out a miserable voyage of thirty-seven days, during a succession of heavy gales from the S.E., which, at that season of the year, almost keep the Adriatic in blockade. The distance from Trieste to Corfù is only 500 miles. My travelling companion at the time was Captain G. M. Jones, who had been a commander in the British navy eighteen years, and served under Sir Wm. Hoste on board the "Amphion," when the French held possession of Corfù: consequently, he must have known the Adriatic well. Being a great invalid, he was glad to avail himself of my escort to Malta, whither he was going to pass the winter. His complaint necessarily made him

irritable, and needed not to be aggravated by the absurd conduct of this Illyrian pilot. We had already been detained a week at Castel Nuovo, and this man chose to bring to within three leagues of our port, under a stiff "Bora," which had carried us above 100 miles during the last twelve hours, and merely because he was afraid it would be dark before he could get up the Channel! Captain Jones advised him to pass the island altogether; "for," said he, "the wind will chop round to the S.E. directly, and then you'll be all right;" and down he went, and "turned in." He spoke with a prophetic tongue: the wind did change; the sirocco again set in with great violence; and after beating about for three days between the island of Fano and the "Strada bianca" on the main, entertained with the superstitious imprecations of the captain and crew, we put back to the Bay of Vallona, where we remained wind locked for *a fortnight!* I paid little attention, therefore, to the fragile promises of Mynheer and his agents. I told them I had no objection to take a berth when I saw that there was a chance of getting off; but that I should hold myself free to engage with any other in the meantime. Towards evening, the atmosphere became obscure; it blew hard from the S.E., and the rain fell in torrents. The night was awfully dark, and the gale increased. The rain still fell, and the storm continued unabated until the middle of the next day, when it seemed to lull a little for a short time; but towards six o'clock, it raged with greater fury than ever. The ramparts were white with foam, and the spray was carried to an incredible distance; the sea presented a most terrific and grand appearance;—if ever it ran mountains and roared great guns, it was then. The line-of-battle

ships in the harbour struck their lower yards and top-masts; every vessel rode with two anchors, and strengthened her moorings; nevertheless, much mischief was done, and a variety of accidents happened. Not a single boat would put out; and even for the next two days, those who were afloat had very little communication with the shore, notwithstanding the storm had subsided, and the atmosphere had become clear; moreover, the wind had changed to the N.E., and was moderate; but Father Neptune could not so easily be pacified, and it was not until the evening of the third day that he seemed to lay aside his angry mood. At length peace was restored, and the heavens became serene and bright.

After a storm comes a calm. These gales in the Mediterranean seldom continue long without intermission. I believe it was the following afternoon, that when I returned from visiting some hospital patients with Dr. Scott, who was at the head of the medical staff, (Dr. John Davy having been called to London on account of the death of Sir Humphry,) I retired to my favourite spot on the ramparts, to enjoy one of the most interesting and delightful views that could be presented to the eye of man. The tranquillity of the atmosphere was re-established, but still there was a north-easterly breeze: the air was pleasantly fresh, the sun shone bright, and the sea looked green, except where, here and there, the milk-white steeds of the azure god were playfully gambolling. I was sitting on a gun, enjoying a scene which I was sorry to leave; the sentry was an intelligent man,—one, I imagine, whose merit exceeded his reward; for his demeanour was above the ordinary cast, and indicated something of rank beyond his present condition. Our conversa-

tion was suddenly interrupted by the appearance of the guard; and looking up, I caught a glimpse of a very beautiful ship just coming round the point at the mouth of the harbour, under British colours. But for the manner in which she shortened sail, I should have taken her for a sloop-of-war; indeed, it was some time before I could satisfy myself to the contrary. She was built with a poop, and lay close to the water; and altogether her appearance was such, that it was nothing but the cautious manner of working her sails that led me to doubt the fact. As she drew near, it was evident that she carried a comparatively small number of hands, and that she could be no other than a merchantman of the first class; but I certainly never saw a finer specimen. She appeared in excellent trim, and swung round to her berth in a way that need not have shamed the British navy. It was really a pretty sight, and I did not think that we possessed a merchant-ship that could have acquitted herself so well.

After this eulogium, the reader will be able to appreciate what I felt when I learned that this fine vessel had only to discharge a small part of her cargo, consisting of government stores, to wit, a long boat and an anchor for the "Britannia,"* a spare bowsprit for a hundred-and-twenty-gun ship, a man-of-war's gig or two, &c.,—and then to proceed to Egypt: the rest of her cargo being consigned to Messrs. Briggs, Brothers and Co., for Mohammed Ali. It may easily be supposed the poor Dutchman was forgotten, and that many hours did not elapse before I was on board the "Bristol, of London." Isaac Riches, the master, was a tall, well-proportioned, athletic-looking man, about fifty years of age, with dark eyes and large eye-brows,

* 120 guns.

a ruddy, healthy complexion, and an open countenance. I was rather prepossessed in his favour, and soon made up my mind. He told me he should certainly sail in a week. I replied, "You captains cannot always keep your word. You will sail, I dare say, if you are ready for sea, and you have a fair wind." I then related to him how often I had been deceived by gentlemen of his profession, and amused him much by an account of my five weeks' cruize in the Adriatic. He assured me that I might depend upon him, for that he had very little to take in; and that, having got rid of the government stores, he should clear immediately. I then engaged a passage, and begged him to be serious, and let me know the latest time. "If the weather is at all fair," he replied, "I shall positively sail on Monday morning."

With this I took my leave, and went forthwith to communicate with Mr. Hemsley, and was not a little pleased to find that he approved of my choice; though I verily believe, if he had said "no," I should have said "yes!"—like many others who ask the opinion of their friends, and take their own at last. But I was very glad to think that the little judgment I possessed in nautical matters availed me here. "How can you hesitate a moment?" said he. "When I saw that vessel come in, and drop her anchor as she did, so orderly and quiet, I was astonished: I am sure the captain knows his business; and he seems as familiar with the port of Malta as if he had been many years pilot. You need not ask the question, my dear fellow; and if you wait here a whole twelvemonth, you may not meet with such another opportunity, until the 'Bristol' comes again." I asked him how much he was paid for puffing the "Bristol!"

During the period of my stay at Malta, my intentions respecting Egypt had been spoken of in the circle of my acquaintance. Knowing that I should be engaged with the sick, and consequently exposed to great risks, (many of them having themselves witnessed the dreadful ravages of the plague in that island,)—remembering also the untimely end of poor Clapperton, who sailed, as they expressed it, on a similar expedition, they did everything in their power to dissuade me from undertaking the journey. They confessed that they thought me rash,—that they did not admire either my voyage or its object; and that, if I went, they should never expect to see me again!—Very comforting, truly! But it was kindly meant, and I am grateful to them for the interest they took in my behalf. It is certainly no joke to encounter the plague or the cholera, dysentery or fever, in a hot country; and the idea of returning home without one's eyes is not very pleasant;—but it is the province of the physician to encounter evils of this kind, and he ought not to shrink from the discharge of his duty, though disease appear in its most formidable shape. My determination was fixed. I could but thank my advisers for their sympathy, and it was extremely gratifying to me to find that I was afterwards not forgotten. On more than one occasion, extracts from my own letters were shewn me in the Malta Gazette, and accounts of my proceedings were from time to time reported through the same channel, which I regarded as a proof that some value was attached to my opinions. The kind expressions which accompanied these reports also afforded me encouragement.

I began now seriously to consider whether I had omitted to make any arrangements which might be

necessary, in order to facilitate my journey. I did not encumber myself with much baggage; but I took care to lay in a good stock of tea, and to be provided with a block-tin cooking apparatus, so constructed as to inclose a spirit-lamp and a nest of cylindrical cups, a dark lanthorn, some well-starched gauze for mosquito-nets, half-a-dozen English knives and forks, a few spoons, writing materials, a good stock of *useful* medicines, particularly quinine, James's powder, calomel, carbonate of soda, and tartaric acid,—some good bleeding lancets, thermometers, a sea-compass, maps, and a few trifling things to give away, such as cutlery, beads, and some French trinkets of inconsiderable value. The only thing I regretted was the want of an *Arabic* and *English* lexicon, which was not to be had at any price.

My friends kindly offered to forward my letters, and reiterated their desire to serve me to the utmost of their ability. I gave them full credit for the honesty of their intentions, and had every inducement to proceed. Time was getting on. I know not what to say! Shall I attempt to describe my feelings? I will not. They were such as I never before experienced, and never may again; though I have since been conscious of the like on more than one occasion. I was surrounded by many who kindly tendered their services, yet they were strangers. My dear parents, my own family, my tried and valued friends, who had known me from the cradle, were at a distance; they were ignorant of my projected plans. I had not seen them for many a long day, and I was now about to enter upon a hazardous undertaking, such as they little contemplated, and I knew not that I should ever see them again!

Shall I say that I did not think of these things, and think of them deeply? Shall I say that I strove to conceal them, or wished to drive them from my memory? I cannot; for they were never absent from my thoughts. I seemed like one who was separated from everything that was dear to him upon earth; not estranged, for the ties of affection are indissoluble, and I was too sensible of what was passing in the minds of those whom I had left in England; yet I could not tell but that we had met for the last time; for I was about to take a most important step, the ultimate success of which was very doubtful. It was an era in my life, whatever that life might be. Some, perhaps, would call it banishment; but if it were banishment, the penalty was self-imposed, and it was associated with the most pleasing anticipations. Although the expedition on which I was so soon to embark was not an expedition of emergency, it was nevertheless of some moment; and I knew not if I should be spared to accomplish my designs.

In religion I never was a sceptic; and still less was I inclined to bigotry or superstition. My imagination, however, had always been inflamed with a desire to visit the Holy Land—to walk over the ground which had been the scene of our blessed Saviour's sufferings and ministry, and to behold the principal places referred to in the pages of the sacred volume. But, it never entered my mind to conceive, that the desire would be gratified: and now that I was on the eve of my departure for Palestine and Egypt, I could scarcely believe it real. I seemed to have been in a dream; a host of things crowded upon my mind at once; and I was sensible of such a strange admixture of feelings that they cannot easily be imagined, and to describe

them is impossible. The duty I owed to parents and friends was more than cancelled by the duty I owed to mankind and to myself. I considered that I was entering on a pilgrimage, and that my sojourn in the land which gave birth to our great progenitors ought to be marked by acts of kindness and philanthropy. I was too well assured as to the condition of the people I was about to visit, and I knew that I must necessarily be exposed to various kinds of peril. I could not calculate on being so highly favoured as I have been in a multitude of ways, or that I should be able to escape the effects of those disasters which have occurred to others. I had no right to expect that I was destined to behold my fellow-creatures falling around me as I did, the victims of disease and want, and yet be permitted to escape myself, and still less to return home with an unimpaired constitution, and to find all well, and prosperous, and happy. I conceive, therefore, that no apology is necessary, for having indulged in these remarks; for I should have been as insensible as the stones beneath my feet, if I had not felt the force and import of such reflections. The critic may smile, but I am not ashamed to confess that I did feel them, and deeply too; and now that all is past, I am conscious of another and still stronger emotion, which it is imperative in me to acknowledge: viz., a just sense of my obligation and gratitude to Divine Providence for the numerous blessings that have been extended towards me, and for that merciful interposition and assistance which alone enabled me to accomplish what I did, and without which, I might have fallen with others who perished in my sight.

My arrangements were soon completed, and I was ready to embark at an hour's notice. It was Thurs-

day, about noon; I had just returned from one of my usual rambles, and was sketching out some maps and plans connected with my journey, when I was surprised by a visit from Mr. Cornelius Bradford, a native of New York, and Consul for the United States at the town of Lyons in France. He stated that he had been travelling in Italy, and had crossed over from Naples to Sicily and Malta; that his original plan was to have returned by Marseilles direct, but that dining yesterday at the mess of the Rifles, the conversation after dinner, turned upon me and my proposed journey, as was said, *in search of the plague*. "I excited their merriment," said he, "not a little, when I expressed a desire to accompany you; but perceiving that I was serious, one of your friends was kind enough to offer me a letter of introduction."

Mr. Bradford was about 25 years of age. He was a person of gentlemanly deportment, and evidently accustomed to polite society; and as he appeared to be a man of education, I could have no objection to him as a compagnon de voyage, provided his views and ideas corresponded with my own; but it struck me that he was acting on the impulse of the moment, if even he had not been led on by others. That he had no evident plan or object in view was certain; and he confessed that his only motive was curiosity. He was animated, and spoke with firmness; but still I could not divest myself of the idea that he had not given the subject that consideration which its nature and importance demanded. I was his senior; therefore, although a stranger, I ventured to put him a little on his guard; and as far as I was justified, to admonish him; adding that I considered a suitable companion always desirable in half-civilized countries, and that if

he had really an inclination to go, and approved of the course I meant to pursue, it would give me great pleasure to travel in his company. I then proceeded to lay my plans and habits before him; I told him that I had a specific object, viz. medicine; and that I might be detained occasionally, on that account, longer in one place than to him might be agreeable. I pointed out the route I proposed to take, and concluded by begging him not to decide hastily, but by all means to reflect well on what he was doing; for that he would find travelling in the East a totally different thing from travelling in Europe, where every comfort and convenience are provided, and where the worst that can happen to one, is a damp bed, a break down, a bad road, or a bad dinner. I impressed upon him that *he* had no specific object; whereas I had the diseases of the climate and other things to induce me to put up with the privations and difficulties I might expect to meet with. He said, "he should certainly not be able to put so extensive a plan as mine in execution, but that he should like amazingly to see the Pyramids and ancient Thebes; that he had a good constitution, and was not afraid of disease; but that at all events he should have a doctor with him, so that he was better off than a great many; and as to privations, they would not be more severely felt by him than by me." "I do not know that," said I, interrupting him; "I have been among a rude people before; you say you have not: this makes all the difference. However, I have concealed nothing from you: you must judge for yourself. I am to sail in the 'Bristol' in two days; so if you resolve to go, you had better see the captain without loss of time. Come and breakfast here tomorrow, and tell me what you have decided on. We

will then talk matters over; and if I can be of any assistance to you afterwards, I shall be most happy. I have only a few letters to write and these plans to finish."

He came according to his appointment, in the morning. He was in high spirits, and the first words he uttered on entering were (I think I see him now),—"Well! my dear sir, I have taken a passage; but the Rifles tell me I must keep you in perpetual quarantine!" I shook him warmly by the hand, and expressed a wish that we might have a prosperous voyage, and find all our expectations realized. "If we do," said he, "we shall be the first who ever did." "We shall, sir, and we have no right to expect it; but a prosperous voyage we may surely anticipate; and I hope, a safe return. At present every thing looks well." Poor fellow! he did not live to come back! We travelled together through Egypt, part of Nubia, and the Peninsula of Sinai. Leaving me at Cairo, he then proceeded to Jerusalem by himself, where he was attacked with fever; and having no one to help him, lingered and died. The monks at the Latin Convent seized upon every thing he had; hurried him to the grave within two hours of his decease, and, I am informed, have since had the audacity to alter the inscription upon the tomb-stone which I and two other travellers who knew him, erected to his memory, thereby making it appear that he became a Roman Catholic, which, however, one of the fraternity has more recently confessed was not the case.

But to proceed. The period between this and our departure, was employed in looking among the shops for an Arabic dictionary and a few things that I recommended to his notice, particularly the calomel, quinine, and James' powder, which no traveller should

be without. The next day there was a review; and looking down from the ramparts, I called my companion's attention to the "Bristol" with her fore-top sail loose. "That is the sign," said I, "of our departure. Have you any wish to retract?" "Certainly not." "Then God be with us! It is my intention to sleep on board to-morrow night. Are you quite ready?" He said he was, but should not embark until early on Monday morning, having promised to see the "Rifles" again.

Sunday was devoted to farewell visits, and farewell views. It was not without emotion that I made the tour of all my favourite spots, and took my leave of every gun and every stone where I had been accustomed to sit and enjoy the beautiful scenery of Valetta. I cannot say but I was melancholy; not that I was sensible of any sad forebodings or misgivings; but it was a melancholy for which I could assign no cause. I was still happy, and had reason to be so; the whole of my wanderings in Europe had been prosperous. I had much, very much to be grateful for, and I hope I felt as I ought; but—(I cannot tell why)—still I was sad, and my heart was full. It seemed as if I had contracted an affection for Malta and was reluctant to leave it; and yet I looked forward with delight to my visit to Jerusalem. I was full of joy and expectation, but out of spirits. I could only suppose that I was home-sick. There are few men, at least thinking men, who undertake anything of importance, (especially if it involve futurity and relate to others as well as themselves), who are reckless or indifferent about the consequences. I had been favoured through life with many friends who had a claim upon my consideration. Above all, I had parents who

I knew, looked to me to be the comfort and support of their declining years. They had been ever good, and kind, and generous, and their anxiety on my behalf was unceasing. I would not willingly, therefore, have occasioned them uneasiness; and now that I was about to travel in uncivilized lands, I knew not what mischief might befall me; and my thoughts naturally wandered homewards. Perhaps then it was the recollection of my revered parents that rendered me thus serious; for I could not be ignorant that I should necessarily incur many risks; and I was by no means sure that I should return to bless them in their old age, by the realization of that on which I knew their hopes of earthly happiness entirely to depend. I had no fear on my own account; it was for them and them alone. I had just been writing them a long letter. I knew what they would feel, and I was too well assured that if my plans miscarried, and I did not return, they would "mourn and weep for him who was not," and that my conduct "would bring down their grey hairs in sorrow to the grave."

And now, adieu to Malta!—Adieu Valetta! I descended from the terraced heights, and sought again my lodgings, surrounded by a host of tattered meagre wretches ready to earn an honest living if they could, without working *very* hard. There was no want of porters, and it was no easy matter to keep the famished rogues in sight; they seemed to vie with one another in agility as they scaled and descended the almost endless and intricate causeways, and tripped along the rugged avenues, alternately abusing and abused, even to the verge of "Nix mangerry." * The beggars seemed disposed to give me their parting blessing,

* The streets of Malta have employed the pen of Byron.

though they suffered me not to depart in peace; for they were more importunate and vociferous than ever, and kept up their incessant monotonous chaunt to the water's edge; and when fairly afloat, it was some moments before the sound of their sweet voices was lost. I had taken pity on some of the most needy looking, which I suppose now excited the jealousy and volubility of the rest. Capt. Riches assured me that he should sail in the morning if the wind continued in the same quarter. I deposited my baggage, and then went once more on board the "Rattlesnake" to take my final farewell of Mr. Hemsley and his brother officers, whose kindness I have not forgotten.

On board the "Bristol" I had most excellent accommodation. I was fortunate enough to occupy the starboard state cabin aft; it was very spacious, and had two stern windows, besides those in the quarter galleries, and was furnished with a four-post iron bedstead, and every convenience suitable for a family. Bradford was not quite so well off, but he had no reason to complain. Besides ourselves, there were three other cabin passengers; viz., Mr. Sharpe, a middle-aged man, and his son about twenty-six, two master cotton-spinners, who were going to enter into the employ of the Viceroy, with ten others, who were under their control, and also a very respectable-looking man as a master miller, steerage passengers. The third, who messed with us, was a Captain Hume, whom I afterwards found to be a very talented worthy man, but one whom Dame Fortune had treated rather roughly. He had got forward by his own merit, and at one time was enabled to purchase a trading vessel; but here his success failed. It seemed that he was a better sailor than a merchant, for he was unfortunate in his speculations. Having

liberated himself from his difficulties, he was again afloat; he went on with various success, as the master of a ship; but at length, after having gone through a great deal, he was cast away on the African coast, and lost every thing. I believe from that period, he remained without employment. Some time elapsed, and having a wife and family, he found it difficult to live, and his spirits were not the best, when a circumstance occurred which induced him to go out to Egypt. Mohammed Ali being one day shown a chronometer, and having heard its uses explained, though he did not understand what was said, was shrewd enough to perceive that the instrument was one of the greatest importance in navigation; and he made most liberal offers to the individual in question to induce him to enter his service, and teach his seamen how to use it; for the Egyptian Admiral, who was present, acknowledged that he had never seen such a thing before, and that he knew nothing at all about it. The gentleman, however, being an officer in the British navy, declined the honor, and explained that he was in his country's service, and could not stay if he were so disposed. The Pascha then requested he would order him some from the best makers in London; but their use is little understood even now, and I believe they are not much employed by the Egyptian marine.

Mr. Hume having been in the habit of using the chronometer many years, and being a scientific enterprising man, was going out very strongly recommended by Mr. Galloway, of London, to his son, who was established in Egypt as an engineer.*†

* See page 43. Also Vol. II., Chap. v.

† Mr. Thomas Galloway, or rather, I should say, Galloway Bey, is since dead; and it is due to him to acknowledge, that future generations will be more indebted to his exertions for the benefits of civilization, which they may enjoy,

There was another passenger which I must not forget, for though last, he certainly was not the *least* of the party, viz.—a very fine English hunter, sent out as a present to the Pascha, I believe by the owners of the ship. The ship's company, including boys, amounted to twenty-one, but of these, six were Maltese, just taken on board to supply the place of others who had been left, either on account of illness or faults. The cargo was of a mixed character, but we had a quantity of coals for the Viceroy. The captain kept his word, and I was roused in the morning by the activity and bustle that prevailed, a pretty sure indication of what was going on. As soon as I opened the door, I received the captain's salutation. He was in excellent spirits: for his cargo was safely stowed, the hatches closed, the wind fair, and he was only waiting for his papers to loose the ship from her moorings. These did not detain us long: and the moment they arrived the signal was given.

I now began to feel anxious about Bradford; it was evident the captain had no idea of being detained on his account. I was about to speak to him on the subject, when I observed a shore-boat nearing us, and the object of my solicitude was in it. We had been stationed very far up the harbour, by the dock-yard, and it became necessary to warp out. We passed my old friend, the "Rattlesnake" (28 guns), the "Revenge" (74), and the "Rifleman" brig (10). The "Britan-

than to any other person or set of persons which this despotic monarch ever invited to Egypt. He was most assiduous in the performance of every duty. His talents and fidelity gained for him the Pascha's unlimited confidence. The highest honours were conferred upon him, and he had been raised to the rank of Prince. His loss was universally regretted, both by the natives and by Europeans, and his place will not be easily supplied. Having myself been an eye-witness of his labours, I cannot withhold this just tribute to his memory.—Vide chap. xiii.

nia" (120), a Dutch man-of-war brig, and a large Russian frigate, the "Grand Duke Michael," which had been refitting, were not far off. I could easily perceive that the "Bristol" was observed and admired. She had been built for the Indian seas, measured 600 tons, was sharp at the bows, and at first sight has even been taken for a sloop-of-war by naval men. The foresail was already loosed, and in a few minutes we found ourselves free from all impediments, in the middle of the stream. The wind was fair, the sails were set, and passing under the bastions, whose heavy guns are placed "en plein d'eau," and are sufficient to rake any ship to death in a quarter of an hour, the picturesque town of Valetta gradually diminished; we reached the mouth of the "Porto grande," and the promontories and fortifications of Malta appeared in rapid succession.

It was now half-past 10 o'clock A.M., and we were fairly under weigh. There was a fresh north-westerly breeze, and the weather, for the season of the year, was good.

CHAPTER II.

VOYAGE TO ALEXANDRIA.

I HAD taken up my station on the poop. The scene around me was a very inspiring one; and the various objects which flitted before my eyes, seemed like the creations of fancy. Many persons were assembled on the ramparts to witness our departure: for the entré or egress of a ship, at Malta, is at all times a beautiful sight, and to an Englishman especially; but such was the peculiar temper of my mind at the moment, that I looked on in silent admiration. I was standing at the elbow of Captain Riches, who himself had taken the helm, and there I continued gazing on the spot, as long as any definite object could be distinguished. The breeze began to freshen, and Malta soon became a speck upon the horizon.

As soon as we were fairly outside, the captain relinquished the helm to one whose steady gaze and furrowed cheek marked him for a veteran in the service; and, having cast his eye round the ship, went down below. The pleasures of a journey are considerably enhanced, I think, by the consciousness that we possess the good will of our companions, or of those with whom we must of necessity have intercourse. So per-

ceiving that the master was now at liberty, I ventured to address him, for the first time since we cleared the island.

The first salutations over, I requested he would favor me with an account of his journey out to Malta. He told me that for the season of the year, all things considered, it had been favorable: but that they encountered one very severe gale off the Bay of Biscay; and that in the night, when the gale was at its height, a heavy sea struck the ship and swept away a very fine lad from the deck. He said that, instantly, they put the ship about as well as they could, and made ready a boat without losing a moment: for although it was dark, and the wind howling in the shrouds, the sea running mountains, and roaring fearfully around them, they would have made an attempt to save him; that as the elements lulled after the fatal gust was past, they might have been directed to the spot by the sound of the poor fellow's voice: and indeed, that it was that which stimulated them to try:—for though they could not see him, they distinctly heard him calling upon the mate:—"Mr. Searson! Mr. Searson! Oh, God! Help! Mr. Searson!"—that these heart-rending ejaculations were repeated twice or three times, which intimated that he was not far from the ship, and that he was supporting himself by swimming:—that they answered him, and gave him every hope and encouragement they could:—that a man-of-war's boat (one of those they were bringing out for the dock-yard) was immediately hoisted over the ship's side, and that three brave fellows were in the act of dropping into her, when the helmsman called out to them, to hang on for their lives:—and but in time:—they clung to the shrouds like cats—and, at the same instant, sustained a shock

which would have been fatal to them all, but for the timely warning they had received; for a most tremendous sea broke over them, more furious than before, and left them all but breathless. "For a minute," continued the captain, "the ship trembled in the hollow of the waters, and another such might have swamped us all;—but the next instant, the vessel righted and rose upon the surf.

"A momentary pause ensued, and the pale watery moon looked out from behind a cloud, but still close veiled by the scud which was flying rapidly before her, and seemed to laugh at our vain attempts to rescue one who had already perished in the briny deep. What was to be done? We no longer heard the voice of him we had lost:—the sea was running mountains high—the boat which we intended to launch had been dashed to pieces—not a vestige of her remained—part of our bulwarks had been washed away, and the vessel groaned as she exposed her bosom to the infuriated element. Her timbers loudly cracked—the cords were strained, and every spar bent nobly to the wind as we lay to amid the roaring billows, which threatened annihilation as they came, and rolling on in quick succession, dashed their foaming waters even to the mast-head.

"Once more we called upon the poor lad,—an awful momentary pause ensued:—no answer was returned, and the plaintive moanings of the wind stealing through the blocks and smaller rigging, not only mocked our solicitude, but for a long time, (and especially during those intervals when as the fury of the tempest subsided we had time to collect our thoughts,) reminded us of the melancholy heart-rending cries of him whom we were compelled to relinquish to his hap-

less fate. To have lowered another boat would have been madness, as, in all probability, it would have perished liked the last, and there was now no longer the same inducement. Besides, the gale began to freshen, and a vivid flash of lightning, followed by a peal of thunder, and a sudden fall of rain, reminded us of the situation we were in, and hinted that the safety of the ship depended on our own forethought and exertions. It was indeed an awful night. For a few hours, the gale continued to rage with unabated violence, and it was not until after day-break, that any perceptible alteration could be said to take place. The thunder, however, had cleared the air, and the rain continued to fall. This I was not sorry for; and though the storm seemed to be abating, the sea still ran high. No further accident, however, happened. I was grieved, deeply grieved for the loss of my poor boy; but there was no help for it, and it was useless to repine at what could not be recalled; especially as we had nothing to reproach ourselves with. It seemed to have been designed by the Almighty; for if the man-of-war's boat had not been swept away as it was, the three brave fellows who would have tried to save the lad, might have perished with him. The thunder was gradually retiring to a distance, and the clouds upon the opposite horizon began to break; a little blue sky was discovered, and as the sun ascended in his course towards the meridian, the atmosphere cleared and the gale subsided."

Such, as nearly as I can recollect, were the leading facts of the Captain's narrative. A thousand things recurred to me as he proceeded; and the scenes of that terrible eventful night were fully developed to my view:—having myself been placed in situations pre-

cisely similar to that described, I listened with the deepest interest to every word. It was the plain unvarnished tale of a blunt and weather-beaten sailor, who was more familiar with danger than etiquette, but who, notwithstanding his want of education, I afterwards found to be practically acquainted with his profession, and to possess many sterling good qualities. He had been roughly treated in his time, and had bought his experience very dearly; but he seemed to be a man of a feeling heart; and the sympathy he displayed in the account which he had just given me enhanced him not a little in my good opinion. I thanked him most cordially, remarking that we had commenced our present journey under favorable auspices, and expressed a wish that its termination might be also favorable. In this I was joined by Bradford, who seemed in good spirits and appeared to enjoy himself much.

There being nothing particular now to arrest my attention, I naturally began to reflect on what I had heard, and also to consider the beautiful scene which I had just left. The grand port of Valetta is situated on the N. E. side of the island. It is separated from another large harbour called Marsa Musceit, (and which is appropriated chiefly to those ships which are riding out their quarantine) by a tongue of land or peninsular, on which the capital stands. It is terminated by the light-house, and fortress of St. Elmo, which serves to defend the entrance into both ports. On the south side of the Porto Grande, are two other peninsulas of rock, pointing towards Valetta, and having two extensive inlets which form most excellent harbours, and afford an effectual shelter to our men-of-war. The first of these heights is crowned by the Castle of St. Angelo and the town of Vittorioso; on the second

stands the town of Isola or Sanglea; and southward of both is that of Burmola, surrounded by the fortification of the Cotonera. Terraces, isolated forts, and points of observation are cut out of the solid rock, and guns are planted in all directions.—The houses are all built of stone, and have flat roofs and cisterns; they rise one above another and present a solid castellated appearance, as if they formed a part of the rocks which overhang them. The approach to the harbour of Valetta, therefore, is truly imposing: it cannot fail to interest even the most indifferent and phlegmatic, and a more striking and picturesque view of the kind cannot possibly be selected. No ship can steal into the harbour of Valetta unobserved, either by night or by day.—The entrance is only 250 fathoms wide, and every ship must absolutely pass close under the fortifications, which are chiefly cut out of the solid rock, and rise one above the other from the very water's edge; sufficient to annihilate the most powerful naval force that could be brought against them; for the besiegers might as well attempt to blow up the heights themselves as to make the slightest impression on this tremendous citadel. The English could only take the island from the French by capitulation, and in consequence of the superiority of their navy; and since that time, the defences of the island have been made still more secure. Generally speaking, the points towards the sea are protected by rugged and perpendicular rocks abounding with caves and grottoes, some of which are very considerable, and filled with stalactites. One of the most interesting of these is near what is called Point Benhisa: it is to the S. E., and extends 200 paces under ground. There are several bays and inlets in other parts of the coast, but these are only weaker by comparison; for their con-

dition has not been overlooked; and if even the enemy effected a landing, they would be able to make no impression on the town of Valetta, which is equally well protected at the back and towards the sea: and the only mischief they could do, would be the destruction of a few "casals" or villages, which would never be worth the risk or expense. Moreover, they would be very glad to get away again; for unless they could be supplied from without, with water and provisions, all their resources would be cut off, and starve they must. Malta may then be considered impregnable, as long as it is in the hands of a people whose navy is superior to every other; but no longer. The climate of Malta is good: epidemic affections rarely occur; but those who make too free, are liable to the Mediterranean fever. Bilious remittents are very troublesome here, as in every other warm country: but they are for the most part to be avoided by attention to diet, — that is, temperance, and by guarding against exposure to the dews of the night. The seasons are well marked. In the spring the air is sweet and temperate; the atmosphere is clear and serene; the nights pure and delightful, the sea is calm, the clouds are dissipated, there is little rain, and the wind is generally in the North. In summer the thermometer sometimes rises to 95°;—but it ranges generally from 88° to 90° and 92°. The atmosphere is brilliant by night and by day, and not a particle of a cloud is to be seen. In the heat of the day, it is very sultry; for there is either not a breath of air to be felt, or what little there is, comes from the east. In September, a very important change takes place: the sky begins to be obscured, and the weather is more variable. The atmosphere is at times saturated with moisture, and often towards evening

charged with electricity: the S. and S. E. winds prevail; the air is very close and oppressive; and there is a good deal of thunder and lightning, and even slight shocks of an earthquake are felt; but there are not generally heavy gales.

From December to March, however, it sometimes blows tremendously, and the sea runs very high. In stormy weather I have seen it breaking majestically over the ramparts, and the spray ascending to the heights, whilst the foaming billows beneath are lashing the broken crags, and roaring like a caldron. The sea is always agitated; the winds are cold, and set in from North, N.W.—West, or N.E., with great violence. It is on account of the tempestuous character, and the prevalence of these winds, that the generality of mariners, who are bound to the eastward, first make the island of Candia; for if they should be caught in one of these terrible northerly gales, they stand a very good chance of being carried down on the unfriendly desert coast of Africa. Many ships have been lost in this way; for there is no place that they can run for: and destruction is inevitable. I forgot to mention, that my old friend, the Dutchman, sailed two days before us; whether with or without his expected cargo I know not; but we anchored first, nevertheless. Being a stranger, he very properly steered for Candia, in order that he might avail himself of the gales which commonly set in, as just stated, from Mount Taurus and the Black Sea,—he would *then* be able to turn them to account. The difficulty and danger of *departing from* the African coast, in opposition to these northerly gales, are beautifully alluded to by Virgil, in the 4th book of the Æneïd, where the Queen, finding that her lover, after having gained her affections, was quietly equipping his

fleet, and that he meant to leave her to endure the pangs of sorrow and remorse,—perceiving that their loves, so well confirmed, were now to be dissolved—exasperated at her neglected charms—and no longer able to conceal the feelings which were struggling within her; but almost frantic with despair, is described as "roaming wildly about the city;" and that when she beheld the ships upon the shore, with sails unfurled, and heard the busy note of preparation, she hastily sought out Æneas, and thus, with soul inflamed, impassionately addressed him:—"And didst thou hope, too, perfidious traitor, to be able, by dissembling arts, to conceal from me this thy wicked purpose, and steal away in silence from my coasts? Can neither our mutual love, nor thy once plighted faith, nor the prevention of Dido's cruel untimely death, detain thee? Such, indeed, is your impatience to leave me, that you prepare your fleet even in the *rigorous* wintry season, and haste to launch into the deep amidst the *roaring north winds!** Ah, barbarous man! what excuse can you plead? Suppose you were not bound for a foreign land and settlements unknown,—say, old Troy was still remaining:—should you yet sail *even for Troy* on *this tempestuous* sea?" &c.† And afterwards, finding that all remonstrance is vain; that not even her tears, her sorrows, or her prayers, can avert his purpose, but that the hero is fully bent on departing from her and Carthage,—distracted with conflicting passions, the love-sick Dido sends her beloved Anna, "who knew the fair occasions and soft approaches to his heart," that she might intercede, in suppliant terms, for her wretched

* "Quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem,
Et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum." *Æneïd.* Lib. iv. l. 309.

† "Troja per undosum peteretur classibus æquor?" *Ib.* l. 313.

and despairing sister. "Wherefore, oh! wherefore does he stop his unrelenting ears to my words? Whither does he fly? Let him but grant this last favor to his unhappy disconsolate lover:—to defer his flight *till it be safe*, and till the winds *blow fair*," &c.* "This favour I implore as the last (pity thy sister!) which, when he has granted, I shall send him away completely happy in my death!"†

I would recommend to the attention of every traveller the following plan of a diary. It will save him a great deal of trouble, and furnish an interesting record of the climate, wherever he may happen to be.

Let the page be ruled, and variously subdivided, after the manner of a ship's log-book. Take, for instance, the following heads:—Situation—Day—Hour—Sea—Wind—Weather—Atmosphere—Temperature—Observations—stating the year and month at the top of each page.

I do not mean that such tables are sufficient, and that they should supersede a more full account; certainly not: but it is only by such observations that we are able to form any thing like an estimate of atmospheric changes, climate, and passing events. The opposite leaf of the sheet should be left clear, or be variously subdivided for general remarks: and thus, if properly managed, we may embody the principal facts of a journey in small compass; and possessing such a document, we can easily enlarge upon them at any future time. I found the plan extremely useful to myself: for frequently, when at sea, or otherwise so situ-

* "Quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti;
Expectet facilem qua fugam, ventosque ferentes," &c. *Ib.* l. 429.

† "Extremam hanc oro veniam (miserere sororis!)
Quam mihi cum dederit cumulatum morte remittam."
Ibid. l. 435-6.

ated, that I had not time to make long notes, I have, in a few moments, filled up the day's table. A small pocket thermometer may be carried for this purpose. Had I not adopted some such method, I believe there are many circumstances which I should not have noted down at all, and it is questionable whether they would subsequently have been called to mind.

The coast of Egypt once could boast several flourishing ports and commercial cities. These have long since fallen to decay, and been abandoned to the wanderer of the Desert. As no allusion is made to them in books, and as the voyage from Malta to Alexandria is likely in future to be more frequently undertaken than heretofore, I trust that a few words on each "en passant," will be found acceptable to the classic and general reader, as well as to the Oriental traveller.

Monday, Feb. 1st.—Our first day's sailing was prosperous in every respect. We soon lost sight of Malta. At 4 P.M. the wind shifted from N.W. to S.W., and afterwards to South, and we made, during the day, from six to seven knots an hour. The moon and stars were bright.

Tuesday, Feb. 2nd.—When I rose in the morning to make my observations, I found that the wind had settled in the S.W., according to the indications of the preceding night: it was blowing very fresh and gusty—the sea was bold, and the clouds were flying low. It thundered and lightened a good deal at intervals, and there were pretty evident indications of a change. In the course of the afternoon, the breeze increased; the atmosphere looked very dirty,—it rained, and one of Mother Carey's chickens paid us a visit.* At nine

* A small bird like a diver, or wild duck, that is sometimes seen about the bow of the ship. It is very active, generally solitary; and its appearance is

o'clock in the evening it became squally;—it soon began to blow hard, and the lightning was more vivid. We were running at the rate of nine and ten knots an hour all day. At dusk, the weather looked still more suspicious:—the top-gallant yards were lowered, and the ship made snug for the night. This was the Captain's seventh voyage to Alexandria: and when the weather permitted, he made a point of steering as direct a course as possible: but still he always advised strangers to make Candia, for reasons already mentioned,—and then, taking a fresh departure, to steer direct for the "Arab's Tower."

Wednesday, Feb. 3rd.—The gale continued without intermission; at two o'clock in the morning the wind suddenly chopped round to the N.W., and at three we encountered such a heavy squall, that the main-top-sail was torn to shivers. We were sailing under the main, fore, and mizen top sails, at the time; the first and last close reefed, and two reefs in the fore. The main-top-sail yard was lowered, and speedily hoisted again with a new sail close reefed. The water, in every direction, was one single sheet of white foam; nothing could be seen distinctly, on account of the drifting spray: the atmosphere looked wild and furious; we shipped several heavy seas, and the whole heavens seemed conspired against us: the billows rolled on in quick succession, and threatened destruction as they

supposed by sailors to indicate bad weather. On this account, it has received the name of the "Stormy Petrel." It is found in the open seas at a distance from land, although a very small bird; and Professor Blumenbach tells us, in his "Elements of Natural History," † that it is to be met with "in the northern as well as the Southern Ocean"—moreover, that "the inhabitants of the Faroe Islands use them as lamps: they pass a wick through their bodies, which, when lighted, burns a long time, from the quantity of fat they contain."

† See the translation from the German by Gore. Barry Cornwall has some beautiful lines, entitled, "The Stormy Petrel," in his "English Songs, and other Poems:" and they have been well arranged for the piano.

came. Ingulphed in the gloomy abyss, mountains of "the angry flood" seemed to close upon us for ever, and hurry us into oblivion. But still the old ship rose, like a bird upon the surface, and all again went right. Once more we descended into the long deep furrows of "eternity," and again we rose and cut the foaming torrent, which roared in all its fury, like a lion, and thundered out its unrelenting rage, that we should still ride on "superior."

> "Now bursts the wave that from the cloud impends,
> And swell'd with tempests on the ship descends;
> White are the decks with foam; the winds aloud
> Howl o'er the masts, and sing through every shroud.
> Pale, trembling, tir'd, the sailors freeze with fears,
> And instant death on ev'ry wave appears." DRYDEN.

But there is a Power which comforts the Christian mariner under every difficulty: there *is* a Being who answers to his call in the hour of need, and enables him to bear up against this awful warring of the elements, and repel their attempts to overwhelm him: there is One who has taught him to smile at danger, and look calmly upon death; for having taken the Beacon of Salvation for his guide, and made himself acquainted with its bearings, he is as true to it as to the compass by which he steers:—it is a beacon whose constancy and excellence he has often proved, and whose name his infant lips were taught to lisp; but it is a Power which he did not really estimate, until he beheld it displayed in all its majesty and glory, in the solemn depths of the ocean.*

As the day advanced, the gale subsided; but the weather still continued very bad, and the sea ran high. The wind remained in the same quarter, and it was squally and wet; but it northed a little towards night, as is generally the case in the Mediterranean.

* See Psalms lxxvii. 16 to 20, cvii. 23 to the end.

Mem. — The Maltese are not cowards, and they make very good sailors when they please, but only when they please; they are apt to give way to their natural indolence of character, and we have just had a specimen of it; for when it was blowing hard, and the men whom the captain had shipped at Malta ought to have been on deck, he found them very quietly gossipping below over their breakfast, as they would be during a calm, and when spoken to on the subject, they coolly replied, "Mi bisogno mangiare, sir!"

Thursday, Feb. 4th.—This morning, the wind was still N.W., but moderate; the weather more settled, but the sky overcast. We doubled Cape Razat during the night, and were not more than twenty miles out, so we had escaped the Gulf of Syrtis, or, as it is now termed, Sydra,—the terror of the ancient mariners, on account of its fatal currents and quicksands. It is spoken of in very strong language by Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Lucan, and others; all give the same account, and all agree that the Syrtes were the great gulfs between Carthage and Cyrené, on the northern coast of Africa. Apollonius Rhodius, after describing the horrors of the gulf, tells us, that if a ship were driven into it by the currents,

"Thence never crew pursued their homeward way."

On the summit of a mountain, about ten miles to the S.E. of Cape Razat, stands the town of Grenna, built, as it is believed, on the site of the ancient Cyrené, once so celebrated for its knowledge, riches, and elegance. The situation is described as being beautiful, and of a totally different character and climate from any other spot between Syria and Tunis.

The difference is exhibited in the hills, woods, and pasturage; and the whole are not only well watered, but the fine springs, from which the name is derived, are more abundant than ever. In the town, besides houses and monuments, are two ancient theatres, an amphitheatre, and a stadium. Four leagues to the E. of Cape Razat is the little port called Marsa Susa, anciently Apollonia, the port of the city of Cyrené.

Towards evening, the wind changed to S.W., and the atmosphere cleared a little. There were some stars to be seen, and the moon; though the latter was not very brilliant. We had a pleasant breeze, and we were off Cape Derna, on the Mamlûk coast, only forty miles from Apollonia. This district produces butter, wax, and wool; and these articles are exported to Alexandria.

Friday, Feb. 5th.—The weather was fine during the night, although the wind shifted to S.E., which was of course contrary; but as there was only a light breeze, we carried all sail. In the middle of the day, the sun shone, and we grew conscious of a warmer latitude. A great number of porpoises were seen playing about the ship; they accompanied us some distance, and we tried in vain to harpoon them from the figure-head. We were now off Port Bomba. Clouds gathered rapidly as the day closed, and the moon lay half-concealed. There was not much wind, but the scud flew very fast and low.

Saturday, Feb. 6th.—This morning the weather was hazy and wet, the wind still S.E., and blowing fresh,—the sea boisterous. We doubled Cape Luco. After sunset, the atmosphere became very dark; it rained incessantly, and looked thick and murky all

around; the sea was rough, and a heavy gale set in from the S.S.E., which obliged us to shorten sail and lay to.

Sunday, Feb. 7th.—Towards morning, the gale considerably increased, and was still accompanied by a heavy soaking rain. We shipped a great deal of water, and were compelled once more to shorten sail. Between 8 and 9 A.M. we were beating in a furious head sea, under nothing but the main-topsail and fore-topmast-stay-sail, both close reefed. At 10, the atmosphere, though thick, seemed disposed to clear. At half-past 10, the wind changed to N.W., but the horizon still looked wild. However, we now kept our course, and had the wind aft; but we were only able to carry the same sail as at 9 o'clock. The sun had not been seen for two days; but it soon began to get fine, and at noon we were able to make observations. We found ourselves off Cape El Ahlem, on the Mamlûk coast, and about 110 miles from the land. The weather afterwards became moderate; the wind continued in the same quarter all day, and northed a little towards night, when the heavens appeared truly brilliant; the sky was of the purest blue; there was not a cloud to be seen in any direction. The firmament was so clear, that the moon and planets quite dazzled my eyes. I had never credited the idea so commonly entertained, that the moon in hot climates is at times sufficiently bright to produce a weakness of sight; but I now fully believe that *it is* possible—under certain circumstances, of course. We were at this time off Cape El Efabou Sambra, or Point Tanhoob.

Monday, Feb. 8th.—The wind changed during the night to S. We had several squalls about sunrise, and clouds continued flying about all day. There was

rather more wind than we liked; but being S.W., it suited us very well.

We had been on the look out all the afternoon for the Arab's Tower, which is rather a remarkable ruin, standing between two black hills, and in clear weather may be seen seven leagues off. The tower at first looks like a ship under sail, and marks the most elevated point in the whole line of coast, which is perfectly flat and sandy, and in some parts scarcely discernible; for all that can be seen is a kind of red streak or boundary, and this is often made manifest only by the breakers which distinguish these shores for miles. There are rocks to a considerable distance out, both above and under water; and there is no distant landmark but this, the "Arab's Tower!"

The sun had set, and it was getting dark: for there is very little twilight in this latitude: and the weather being thick, the Captain was beginning to feel uneasy because he could not descry the Arab's Tower. He felt persuaded that it was not far off, and Captain Hume thought we had already come to the eastward of it. It was blowing fresh, and we were making not less than seven and a half or eight knots an hour. He had taken care to keep far enough out to avoid the rocks; but as night was coming on, it was of importance to know our *exact* situation. He therefore shortened sail, and determined to have recourse to soundings, and to lay to for the night. Now the soundings along the coast all the way from Cape Luco, and indeed from Cape Razat, are pretty regular; and opposite to Abousir, (that is, the Arab's Tower,) there are ninety fathoms water at about six leagues off the land; but according to the survey of Captain Smyth (who is very high authority on this subject,) it is not prudent to

advance in the night or in hazy weather to less than twenty-five fathoms, which is equivalent to only eight or nine miles from shore. There is not I suppose a more dangerous coast in the known world, than that of Northern Africa, but more especially that part of it which lies between Cape Luco and Damietta.—To the westward of Alexandria, the water is, generally speaking, deep near the land: and even within twenty miles of the harbour, it is so clear that the rocks may be seen at the depth of five and six fathoms. The water also loses its purple colour, and assumes a light blue tint; but more to the eastward, it is for the most part shallow: varies considerably in depth, and is very muddy.

Besides the depth and colour of the water, there are other points worthy to be kept in mind when bearing up to the port of Alexandria; and these I may briefly allude to *en passant*, as they cannot but be interesting to the scholar, and the man of general information; for who that has heard of the "Pharos" of Alexandria, which has been the talk of ages, will refuse to consider the purposes for which it was erected? Alas! how many unfortunate individuals have been doomed to perish in its neighbourhood! The mariner then, in making the port, will do well to look out for shoal and broken water, and to examine the appearance of the land, which to the westward of Alexandria is flat, and sandy, and barren; there are no trees of any kind; but to the eastward, it is somewhat uneven and higher; the irregularities are chiefly sand-hills, and there are trees: though for some distance they consist only of palms.

With these facts before us, it all seems plain sailing; but a most careful and vigilant look out must be kept; and even in laying to, it is necessary to keep the Lead

constantly going, as well as the *Log**—for the currents run parallel with the shore, easterly; and when the weather is either fresh or hazy, a person is very liable to be deceived. In the present instance it was both, but fortunately the wind was in the right quarter, viz. S. W.; but had it come on to blow hard from the North during the night, we should have been in anything but a pleasant situation. Captain Hume proposed to take advantage of our present wind; and by a precautionary measure, to take a long stretch to the eastward: "if even we pass Alexandria," said he, "it will not be of any importance, and in the event of a change, we shall at least be on the safe side." But Captain Riches thought differently; and gave it as his opinion, that if he did so, not only would there be nothing gained by it in the event of a northerly gale, but that our situation would then become critical:— "because," said he, "it is no easy matter to take a large ship into Alexandria in the night, even in moderate weather, by the central channel, which would be our only chance, unless we could by good fortune make the bay of Aboukir; and I am quite sure, that whatever distress we might be in, no pilot would come out to us; whereas, if a northerly gale *should* come on, which I am certain from the appearance of the night, will *not* be the case, I should be able to make for the passage of the Marabout, as I have done before, and I am not afraid to do it again; but the best course for us to pursue is, to lay to till daylight; and then we shall see what we are at: depend upon it, we shall have no 'Bora' to night. So,

* The means by which a ship's progress is computed, and calculations made. The Log consists chiefly of a piece of wood attached to the end of a line, which has knots in it: so that the Log being cast over the stern, it is easy to ascertain the ship's rate of sailing, by the length of line run out in a given time.

now Peter,* do *you* get into the chains; and let *me* have the Lead." This was accordingly done, and the Lead cast, but it indicated nothing: for we had kept so far out during the late gale, that we had not yet reached soundings; no wonder, then, that we had lost the Arab's Tower! The weather was fine; we shortened sail, and gently kept our course. Again, the Lead was thrown; but still no soundings. At the expiration of half an hour, the indication was forty fathoms—then, thirty-five—then twenty-eight—then thirty-two—and so on to twenty-six—still however nothing like land was to be seen; but the Captain did not think it prudent to venture further; he looked over the ship's side, examined the appearance of the water, and having satisfied his mind, "Now," said he, "Mr. Searson, call up the watch, and 'bout ship!" His orders were quickly obeyed, and having given further directions to the mate, and impressed upon him the necessity of vigilance and strict attention to the *Log*, he retired to his berth. Every thing went on well: the weather did not change; we made a long fetch of about forty miles and returned—then another; and thus beguiled the time.

At break of day, the Captain again made his observations; no land was to be seen. The atmosphere was still obscured with vapour: once more the Lead was cast, and Peter was ordered to retain his post; for the last indication was only thirty fathoms. On nearing the land a little, the Arab's Tower was at length discovered: we were rather to the eastward of it, and nearly opposite to a round sand-hill, with apparently some stunted trees on its summit, and which, in very clear weather, may be descried at some distance: it is

* A very active Norwegian sailor.

a little inland, and the red line of shore was now distinctly visible: but the whole coast presented a most dreary aspect, barren and parched, and desolate. I shall never forget the extraordinary sensation which the first view of the Libyan Waste, as it appeared from the sea, produced on my mind: it is indescribable; but the impression never can be eradicated. My imagination had been raised, my curiosity excited. At last, I heard it announced that land was in sight: I took up my station at the bows, and watched and gazed till my eyes fairly ached. I looked again and again through the glass, in the hope of discovering some object that was purely African; but in vain! There was not one to be found, except indeed——the wilderness; and this I certainly had never seen before. It will easily then be imagined, that in proportion as I approached the place of my destination, the excitement of the voyage increased; especially as it became necessary to distinguish the broken waters of the lurking reefs from the snowy surge which parted from the bosom of our trusty bark. Both Captain Riches and his friend Hume were on the alert. The wind was still S.W. but it began to blow very strong, and the haziness continued. For several miles parallel with the coast, and about four miles from the shore, there is a reef of half-concealed rocks: and a similar reef extends all the way in a direct line to Alexandria, which, including three narrow openings or channels, forms the northern boundary of the Old Harbour—our wished-for port. We saw the sea dashing fearfully over them, and the spray carried off by the breeze; we heard the furious roaring of the surf, and we knew that nothing but the prowess and skill of those to whom the ship was entrusted, next to God, could save us from destruction, the means of

which gaped upon us with open mouths, on all sides. It was impossible therefore to look on in senseless apathy. I had been up, enjoying the moon and my own reflections a great part of the night; and I believe I had not been off the deck ten minutes since the break of day, so desirous was I to let nothing escape me which referred to my first arrival in Egypt. I had learned a great deal from Mr. Hemsley and others, about the peculiarities of this coast; I had read a great deal about them; and if ever I was insensible of its dangers, I now had them before my eyes. At this moment, I do not think there was an indifferent man in the ship: even the Maltese looked unusually excited, and seemed to feel an interest in what was doing, as if they had something more than common at stake. Peter the Norwegian was still at his post: Mr. Searson was directing his men; Captain Riches had the helm; and Hume, who was ever the foremost when any thing important was to be done, had, of his own accord, taken up his station in the fore yard. Not a sound was uttered except by the trusty Peter, who continued to heave the Lead and announce its indications with an audible voice. Every one awaited orders, and kept his eye upon the Captain, rope in hand, ready to act the instant the word was given. The breeze was still fresh, and we were running along the coast under easy sail, with the Tower of the Marabout in sight: and this was now our land-mark, as it points out the situation of the Marabout channel, which resembles at times a boiling cauldron. The island on which it stands I have denominated Surf Island; for it is nearly surrounded by rocks and shoals for miles, and yet there is not a light, a buoy, or a stick of any description, to warn the mariner of his danger. The

sea was often white with curling foam, and afforded us intimation of their lurking position; but in very calm weather, the water steals here and there insidiously over them; and even in winter, a few more deeply placed are hidden altogether from the view; and extending into the sea, are ten times more treacherous than the rest. Such was our situation on the morning of the 9th. On deck all was silent as the grave, and every man was intent on his respective duty. In this way, we had proceeded about four miles, keeping an observing eye on the foaming white horses to leeward, and the Marabout Island, the object of our nearer approach; when, in an instant, we were roused into action by the loud and startling voice of Hume; —"Starboard!—Starboard!—Starboard! again!—Breakers ahead! Starboard!"—"And Starboard it is!" echoed Riches, neither confused, nor dismayed, though he knew that if the ship had proceeded only a few yards further, she must have struck. He called to his men, at the same time that he guided the wheel, and her head swung round as quietly as if she had been gifted with the power of locomotion. Peter, in the mean time, true to his charge, suffered not his attention to be diverted; but still continued to heave the Lead, and sung out more lustily than before. The soundings had given no indication of shoal water: these rocks must therefore have been of considerable size, and more or less isolated; but this is often the case, and the danger is greater in consequence. "All's right, now!" said Hume, but he still kept a steady look-out; and the condition of matters on deck remained as before. We were now in high soundings, and the distance began rapidly to shorten. We were nearing the Old Tower fast, and had an indistinct view of

Pompey's pillar, the most prominent land-mark of Alexandria; but the weather was still very hazy.

The Old Harbour, or, as it was called by the ancients, "Port Eunostos," is inclosed by the land and town on the South and East, by the Marabout Island on the West, and on the North by a long and almost uninterrupted line of shoals and reefs of rocks, which were never known or understood until they were surveyed by Captain Smyth. The distance from the Marabout to the Pharos Tower, at the extreme point of Alexandria, is about eight miles; and there are three channels or mouths to the port. That of the Marabout is the best, especially for large ships; but none can enter there who are not familiar with the passage, as the mariner has little or nothing for his guide; and let happen what may, he could obtain no assistance. All the channels are narrow, and bounded by dangerous rocks and shoals, and equally devoid of lights or buoys. The central channel is that most used: but few can enter it without a pilot. The general custom is to fire a gun for a pilot, and there is seldom any difficulty in obtaining one, at least in the day-time, or in fine weather; but the Arabs do not like going out in a gale of wind, unless they are sure of being well paid,—and the English are sometimes obliged to help each other in consequence. Those who arrive in the night, generally lay to till day-break. The Central Channel is two miles and a half to the N.E. of the Marabout Tower: its depth varies from five to six fathoms, and inwardly to ten; there is a reef on each side. The Eastern Channel is very narrow, and is used chiefly by the Arab D'germs and other small craft: it is three quarters of a mile to the S.W. of Point Eunost; and to the eastward of it is a rocky bank in form of a bar, with

only two or two-and-a-half fathoms: but there is sometimes as much as eight fathoms of water in the channel itself.

Captain Riches had been so many voyages to Alexandria, that he said he considered himself better without a pilot than with one; for that he knew more about his own ship than any pilot could tell him. It was his usual practice, therefore, to enter by the Marabout, where there are generally from four and a half to six fathoms of water. We continued our course; and having stretched to about three quarters of a mile to the N.E. of the Old Tower, the bed of the channel distinctly showed itself, with its rocky jaws distended. Steering now in a more southerly direction, we proceeded towards some rugged points of land, and came in full view of the banks and wells of the "Watering-Place." Here were great numbers of persons assembled to gaze at us: they seemed astonished at the idea of our entering without a pilot, and were a motley group, though we could not easily distinguish their features. Here, too, it was that I first beheld the camel in his native land. We approached to within rather more than half a mile of them, and, by the aid of a glass, I could then perceive that the party consisted of Arabs, that is, the present race of Egyptians, with their hard features and swarthy countenances, and that they were probably journeying to Alexandria, and had stopped here to water.

Pompey's Pillar, and one of the famous Needles of Cleopatra, were now in sight; and I was transported, beyond measure, at the recollection of the various sources of delight which awaited me. I called to mind the once boasted riches and learning of Alexandria—its famous port—its ships—its granaries—its temples—

and palaces—its library—its philosophers, and, finally, its conquerors.

My thoughts then recurred to the events of modern times, and I recollected the labours of my countrymen, and the heroes who had poured out their blood on the thirsty plains of Egypt. I remembered Nelson, and Abercrombie, Sir Sydney Smith, and Napoleon; and I pictured to myself the debarkation of the troops of Europe. These, and a thousand other things, rushed across my mind in the same moment; the one usurping the place of the other; but I was too well acquainted with the changes that had taken place, to suppose that this once famous port retained any traces of its former greatness. I suffered every feeling of romance to be stifled in my breast, and prepared myself for the most extravagant alterations, in order that I might not be disappointed.

Whilst I was revolving these things, the ship was proceeding under easy sail in smooth water along the shore, in somewhat of a north easterly direction; and we had approached to within about four miles of the town, when my attention was arrested by the sudden appearance of a stout sea-boat, cutter-rigged, evidently making towards us, and containing two men and a boy, whom I soon discovered to be English. They came alongside as smartly as if they had been pilots; and for a moment, I thought perhaps they were, or that they belonged to the British Consulate, and that we should here have to surrender our papers: but I was soon undeceived. A rope was handed, and one of the party came on board. The countenance of our captain brightened up; neither was Mrs. Riches an indifferent spectator; both went forward to meet him, and she was soon locked in the arms of her son. The boat

dropped astern, and was taken in tow. Congratulations having been interchanged, and a few hasty enquiries made, the proximity of the "Pharos Arm," and the Seraglio Point, together with the ships that were lying before the town, reminded them that they must defer all further interrogatories until the "Bristol" had selected her berth. The anchor was ready, and the cable up; and it only remained to determine where it would be best to ride. This, however, was soon settled; and in twenty minutes more, we found ourselves safely moored in the harbour of Alexandria.

I have dwelt longer on the subject of the voyage than I should otherwise have done, in consideration of the interesting relation which exists between this country and the Mediterranean; a relationship which is likely to be cemented more firmly than ever by the settlement of the Turco-Egyptian question, and the free communication with India by the Red Sea. At the present time especially, when important changes are taking place, I conceive that any accurate information respecting this the southern boundary of the Mediterranean, is of the greatest consequence; for it requires no very prophetic sagacity to discern that this will shortly become not only the high-road to India, Persia, and China, but that it will open the door to civilization in Africa, Affghaunistan, the Southern Provinces of Russia, and that immense territory which extends between them and the Cochin Chinese, even to the great wall of Tartary and the Indian Archipelago. A moment's reflection will convince us that the arm of despotism is becoming paralyzed, and that the wisdom of Providence is wonderfully displayed in the events of the present day. The igno-

rant conceit and bigotry of the Chinese must be broken down, and an inroad made into that enormous territory, before we can hope that the idolatry and superstition of the eastern world can be abolished. That it *will* be so abolished, and that Christianity will, ere long, obtain a footing on the shores of the Caspian, the Yellow, and the White Sea, I have a very strong conviction; and I believe that the Mediterranean will be the key to that important event. A war is always a dreadful thing to contemplate, but in the great changes of the world, it often becomes the medium of good.—The western harbour of Alexandria when once entered, is by no means a bad one. It is well sheltered on three sides, and the rocks which extend between the Pharos Point and the Marabout, a distance of eight miles, form an excellent break-water on the fourth. It is only during a northerly gale that there is a heavy swell in the harbour; and there is at all times plenty of water and a good bottom. The currents in this portion of the Mediterranean follow an opposite course to that of the sun. They run, upon the average, at the rate of about three miles an hour, varying according to the weather and the season of the year. They take an easterly direction along the shores of Africa and Egypt, to the mouth of the Nile, which magnificent river rushes into the sea sometimes with great impetuosity. The currents then proceed from south to north along the coast of Syria, to the Gulf of Iskenderoon, where they are again turned: they then run from east to west, between Cyprus and the main, and keeping the shores of Asia Minor, meet with the currents of the Archipelago which come from the north; but vary considerably among the Greek Islands, and at length verge a little towards the south-west.

A few words in conclusion, on the subject of the winds. Throughout the whole of the Levant, the winds are influenced a great deal at different seasons by the heights of Mount Taurus, in Asia Minor, and by the lofty pinnacles of Libanon. When within a few miles of shore, the wind, rushing down the ravines, produces what may be termed land-breezes, whilst, further out at sea, the *true* wind is felt, viz., that which blows *over* the summit of the mountains. Thus the breezes from the shore vary considerably, both as to their intensity, duration, and course. In the winter, when there is a great deal of snow, they are colder and stronger; but in the summer, light airs only are felt, if any; they extend also a very short distance; they set in usually about sun-set, and continue until sun-rise. I have already stated that I made atmospherical observations three times a-day. I remarked that generally, let the weather be what it might, the wind subsided more or less about an hour before sun-set; sometimes it dropped altogether. But it always lulled a little, and frequently changed its course at that time. When the tops of these mountains are covered with snow, the country in the interior is rendered cool. The advantage of this is particularly felt in Syria, where the desert plains are oppressive and barren; and, at least in summer, the springs dried up. The mountains are never without snow in winter: it lies on the ground during many weeks, and often to a considerable depth. This tempers the climate considerably; and were it not for this, the plains of Syria would, at times, be scarcely habitable. Nothing can be more delightful than the mountainous districts in the summer; but in the winter, the weather is most tempestuous and bleak. In the plains, however, it is

otherwise; and the weather is so mild, that orange-trees, dates, and many delicate shrubs, flourish most luxuriantly: and this is decidedly the most healthy season there; for in the summer, the heats are so oppressive, that the consuls and merchants quit the shores of the Mediterranean, and reside among the Druse villages of Libanon. The shelving ground which extends between the sea and the hills, is liable to great humidity, for the land not being drained, there is always stagnant water: and the atmosphere being hot, the inhabitants who cannot retire to the mountains in summer and autumn, suffer severely from remittent fever, cholera, and dysentery. There is not much thunder either in summer or winter, especially in Egypt; and when it does occur, it is generally near the sea, and during the rainy season, which lasts, more or less, from November till March. During this period, the west and south-west winds prevail, and as then it sometimes pours down incessantly for hours, on the eastern coast, the Arabs have denominated them "the Fathers of Rain." In March, the Q'hramseen winds begin; they blow from the south and south-east, bringing with them clouds of fine dust, which may often be collected on the decks and rigging, many miles at sea. It is so subtle as to find its way into watches and other machinery. They constitute the sirocco of Italy,—the sickly season in Egypt. During this period, the whole atmosphere looks wild and lurid; the skin is hot, the tongue parched, the eyes suffused and blood-shot, the temples burn and throb, and the most distressing thirst is experienced, — symptoms which are often the fore-runners of purulent ophthalmia, and of the most loathsome diseases. These winds continue, as the name im-

ports, fifty days. They sometimes blow a complete hurricane: they last, on the average, about three days, and then return again after a short interval. Of course, the more remote from Egypt, the less severely they are felt; and on the southern shores, there is but little sea, as the wind is blowing off the land. From this time until June, the east wind may be said to usher in the summer. It is then extremely hot and sultry; headaches prevail, and solid food should be taken sparingly.

There is a difference of about ten degrees between Alexandria and Cairo. Frequently the sea is quite calm, and there is scarcely a breath stirring: at other times, the breezes "round" the compass with the sun, invariably "northing" towards night. During the whole four-and-twenty hours not a cloud is to be seen: there is a brilliant blue sky, and the heavenly bodies dazzle the eyes. There is but a short twilight: in a quarter of an hour after the sun has dipped the horizon, it is as dark as it is likely to be. The surrounding air cools rapidly, and the dew falls densely for a short time, and continues to drop through the greater part of the night. In the autumn the atmosphere is generally dry and clear, the moon and planets are still brilliant, and it blows hard from the west, and west-north-west. When the east winds prevail, showers are not unfrequent, and water-spouts sometimes occur. Clouds often form suddenly and as suddenly disperse — thus illustrating the phenomenon alluded to by the Prophet Elijah.* So commonly does this happen, that when the Arabs see a cloud resting on Mount Libanon they predict rain: and they are tolerably correct; for a westerly breeze

* 1 Kings xviii. 42—46.

generally springs up, and it is accompanied with showers. I have stated these particulars, because the question has often been asked, whether it is possible for a British fleet to weather the storms to which they are exposed off the coasts of Syria and Egypt in the winter. I know that it sometimes blows very hard from the west and north-west directly down upon these coasts,—I know that the whole line of the African shore is flat; that there are neither land-marks, lights, nor buoys—that there are rocks and shoals, uncertain soundings, and no ports to run to in a strong northerly gale; I know too that there is not a single place of security at hand for a ship of the line to anchor in during the winter months. Cyprus and Candia have good ports; but the Bay of Aboukir* in the south, and the Gulf of Iskenderoon in the north, are the only places to which a vessel drawing more than eighteen or twenty feet water can hope for proper shelter: and yet it is somewhat singular that the Pascha's fleet, including ships of 100 guns, have been repeatedly cruizing off Alexandria and Syria in the depth of winter. In December 1832, the Egyptians bombarded Acria: 5000 Turks had held possession of it for some months against Ibrahim Pascha, and it was not until he had fired 40,000 shells, and 60,000 shot into it, that they succeeded. "This," says Captain Fitz-Maurice, "does not say much for Egyptian gunnery!"†—Perhaps it says more, then, for their seamanship; for during the whole of this period, the fleet under Osman Pascha and Muttus Bey, was afloat —vessels of every denomination, including heavily-laden

* At this place the battle of the Nile was fought. On the eastern side of Aboukir Bay, there are eight and nine fathoms of water. So likewise at Iskenderoon; but here there is not such a sure bottom: and the ships are open to the strong easterly gales from the mountains.

† See Chapters v. and xv.; also Vol. II. Chap. v.

transports, were passing and repassing between Alexandria and Caiffa,—the Ottoman fleet was at the very same time cruizing off the coast of Karamania and the Greek Islands with many sick, and both armaments having badly regulated crews, and inexperienced, self-willed officers, who felt no interest in the cause in which they were embarked. Thus, though they always pretended to be in pursuit, and were often in sight of each other, they had evidently no wish to meet, and ingeniously contrived as much as possible, to avoid coming within gun-shot. Both the Sultan and Viceroy were duped by those who carried on the farce, and at length, Osman Pascha, the Egyptian Admiral, who owed everything to Mohammed Ali, treacherously set off from Souda in Candia, on board the Brig "Chaaba Gehaat," carrying with him a very considerable sum of money, the property of his master. I can vouch for the authenticity of these and other important facts. Some of them I have been myself an eye-witness of, and I am in possession of valuable documents which bear the strongest testimony to the rest.* I once went out to

* Let the following specimens suffice. I might extract many similar memoranda from the Log-book of the "Kaffrecheyk," 58 guns, the "Aboukir," 84 guns, and the "Mansoura," 104 guns, commanded at various times, by Captain Prissick, a gentleman of high character, and many years an officer in the British navy.

"*July 28th*, 1832. *On board the "Mansoura."*

"We have received certain intelligence that the Turkish army is nearly destroyed, and that the Sultan's fleet and transports are lying in Scanderoon, within 100 miles of us: yet we are ordered to *lay to* all night, and waste time! I here enter and record my formal protest against such dastardly conduct in the Commander-in-Chief.

(Signed) "JOHN PRISSICK."

"*18th August*, 1832. *On board the "Mansoura."*

"We had been commanded to clear for action, but our fleet was in no order, *and all appeared indecision.*—1 P. M. The Sultan's fleet are now within five miles, and we are nearing each other, but the Capoodan Pascha has not let us

the "Raschid" fifty-eight-gun frigate (which then hoisted Osman Pascha's flag), to pay a visit to a patient, in the month of February, when it was blowing fresh. I was on board a small cutter-rigged craft with a couple of English sailors. On reaching the vessel, which lay some distance outside, we witnessed one of the greatest scenes of confusion that could happen. She had "fouled" her anchor, and both officers and men were running and storming together without the least order or subordination. On leaving Syria, I sailed from Beyrout late in the season, when the strong north-westerly gales prevail, on board a Sardinian vessel of sixty tons, for the Island of Cyprus. The currents set in so strong to the northward, that we were carried a considerable distance to leeward, having been enveloped in a dirty, thick fog during several hours. On nearing the land, we found ourselves off Famagusta. Fortunately, a fresh

know by word or signal what his intentions are. His whole conduct is to me so inconsistent and undecided, that I must again enter my protest; viz. that the hostile fleets are now within five miles of each other, and evidently nearing fast, from *their* superiority of sailing, yet no signal has been made by the Pascha, to inform us whether he intends to attack or not; against which I here formally enter my protest. (Signed) "J. P."

"August 19th, at daylight, the rear ships of our squadron eight miles astern. N. B. Had the Turkish fleet been near, they must have been destroyed before we could have assisted them. At 5-30, P. M. saw five of the enemy's sail on the lee-bow. To my surprise and indignation the Pascha made the signal *to tack!*—Thus we have not only shamefully run away, but exposed our rear ships!"

On another occasion, Captain Prissick, having given chase to two Turkish men-of-war, just as he was getting his guns to bear upon them, a signal was made by the Admiral recalling him, and he was obliged to return, although his sailors were quite eager to engage the enemy. It is due to Captain Prissick to mention these things, and he left the service at last, in great disgust.

Since writing the above, this noble-spirited, generous, excellent hearted man, has paid the debt of nature. He returned home with an impaired constitution, in 1834, and died at Brussels on the 16th of April, 1841, universally and deservedly regretted. Vide Vol. II. Chap. v.

breeze sprung up from the opposite quarter, and we were enabled to make up lee-way. Then doubling Cape Pila, we entered the Gulf of Larnica, where there is good anchorage.* It is about ten miles across: it is protected from the north by Cape Pila, and from the south-west by Cape Chiti; these being the prevalent winds during ten months of the year, and the only ones which bring much sea, or from which any thing is to be apprehended. I afterwards sailed from Larnica during very boisterous weather, on board a Greek goletta of 140 tons, for Rhodes, where there is fair anchorage in fine weather, but before reaching the island, we put into Castello Rosso, which is a very safe and excellent port for ships of moderate burden; and not far off, is the Bay of Marmora, or Marmorice, which I also entered. It is ever memorable as the spot in which Nelson took refuge with hisentire fleet during bad weather, when on his way to Egypt. I might multiply instances of this kind, but I have already been enticed into a very long digression, by the important nature of the subject; and I think I have said quite enough to prove that it *is* possible for *English* ships of war, with good compasses, charts, and chronometers, experienced officers, and British Hearts of Oak, to weather the gales of the Mediterranean, as they have done many a time before under the immortal Hero of the Nile.

In further proof of the truth of these observations, let me add that a British squadron has weathered the

* At Famagusta there are eight and ten fathoms water, and at Larnica, from twelve to fifteen fathoms. As to the other ports—that of Tripoli is bad, about five fathoms, but foul ground. Beyrout is the best; but the whole line of the Syrian coast is open to the north-west winds, and some of the old ports (as Seyde, or Sidon) are more or less choked with ruins.

storms of 1840 and 41, in spite of all the maledictions of their most inveterate enemies. "The Great Liverpool," the "Oriental," and other large steamers, too, did not cease to communicate with Egypt during the whole of the same winter and ensuing spring; although there is reason to believe that they must have encountered some unusually boisterous weather.*

* See Vol. II. Chap. v.

CHAPTER III.

ALEXANDRIA.—ARAB VIGILANCE.

JAMES, the son of Isaac Riches, was about thirty years of age, and commanded the "City of Rochester," a merchant ship, lying, at the period of our arrival, at Alexandria. She was larger than the "Bristol," but very inferior to her in other respects. The Egyptians have a law, by which a red flag should be hoisted at the Seraglio Point, as soon as a vessel of any nation or character appears in sight: but it would seem that they do not keep a very good look out, as no flag was hoisted until after we had let go our anchor: yet Mohammed Ali flatters himself that he is secure from the intrusion of Europeans: but, as Riches justly observed, "What was there to have prevented me piloting in a few sloops-of-war, or some small-class frigates? I might have anchored them snugly before the town: for the lazy watch had no idea of our approach. I have more than once had occasion to run in at the Marabout, when it was blowing a heavy gale from the northward, and I am as

familiar with Alexandria as I am with the port of London or Liverpool.*"

The Pascha has been so flushed with success, and was permitted to indulge his ambitious views so long without interruption, that he almost fancied himself impregnable, and that neither England nor France could take him by storm without first crossing the bar. It is this absurd notion which prevents him erecting landmarks or light-houses along the coast, or buoys to mark the three channels; still less any forts or martello towers to defend the entrance, which there doubtless would be, if Egypt were in the hands of the Europeans.

Captain James Riches had been on the watch for his father some days. On the morning of the 9th, notwithstanding the weather was hazy, and the wind fresh, he descried a large ship in the direction of the Marabout, and knowing pretty well all the vessels that were in the Egyptian trade, he felt convinced that nobody but his father, or a British man-of-war, would attempt the Marabout in such weather, more particularly without a pilot. He immediately ordered out his long-boat (which, having occasion to stay some time at Alexandria for cotton, he had rigged as a cutter), and went forth to welcome the "gude man," to the end that he might point out the situation of the "Rochester," and the most convenient berth for the "Bristol." He informed me that many would rejoice to hear of my arrival, there were only two medical men in the place, the one a drunkard, the other a gambler,—that both neglected their patients, and that nobody had any confidence in

* No ship larger than a sloop could pass in or out of the harbour, with her guns and stores; and when an Egyptian frigate has been in to refit, her guns are invariably sent out after her.

either.* I gave him to understand, that I did not come to Egypt with a view to settle there professionally; but that nevertheless I should not refuse my services to those who needed them. The consequence was, that in less than half an hour, before even I had landed, (such was the necessitous condition of the Europeans in this particular) I was requested to visit the lady of a Captain Scott; and a very short time convinced me that I should soon have enough to do.†

We now prepared to land; and as our Captain was about to proceed to his agents, and afterwards to lay his papers before the Consul-general, Mr. Barker, we determined to avail ourselves of his escort; and full of expectation, pulled away to the Mahmoudieh, or landing place, without the walls. We were neither asked for passports, nor had to undergo any custom-house ordeal. But quite a novel scene presented itself. We were instantly surrounded by ragged, dirty, hard-featured urchins, with their still more miserable-looking donkeys, whose bones were nearly through their skin, elbowing, pulling, and jostling, and assailing us with—"Ommar! Ommar! Capitan!—Donkey! Yes, very good!—Capitan Riches, how you do? Ommar taieeb!"‡ "Where's Hamed?" said the Captain, who was recognised by the donkey boys, "where?"—"Ha-

* The former afterwards broke his neck in a fit of intemperance; the latter retired for want of patronage. Various individuals have since tried their luck: but finding it a bad speculation, the inhabitants are still, I believe, without any permanent medical adviser.

† It is not my intention to amuse the reader with an account of all my medical adventures; but occasionally, when any thing occurs which is calculated to throw light either upon individual character, climate, or the condition of the people at large, I trust I shall not be considered tedious if I speak of that which seems to refer to myself. I shall endeavour to be as concise as possible, refraining altogether from the consideration of those questions, which, however interesting they may be to the medical enquirer, are little suited to the taste of any one else.

‡ "Ommar"—donkey. "Taieeb"—good.

med! Hamed museh henne! (not here)." But Hamed *was* there: and immediately made his appearance, brandishing a huge stick, and clearing his way right and left. He was an athletic, and rather young Arab, and wore the frock or dress peculiar to the boatmen and lower class of people. He knew Captain Riches very well, and offered to accompany us into the town. He spoke a little English, and said his father would be glad to see him again at Alexandria. Old Hamed, Mustapha Hamed, was rather a remarkable character, and deserves to be kept in remembrance; for he was with Nelson at the battle of the Nile, and rendered essential service to the British nation. He was formerly a fisherman, and thus attracted the notice of Lord Nelson, who, profiting by his assistance in entering the Bay of Aboukir, was enabled to prevent the exit of the French ships in the night. Hamed was therefore instrumental in the destruction of the fleet, which subsequently took place: and so deeply was the British Admiral impressed with the importance of his services, that he wrote to Government, attributing his good fortune, in a great degree, to the piloting of Hamed, who lost a thumb during the action, but gained a handsome pension from the English, which he has since regularly received. This enabled him to trade. He became rich, and is said to have accommodated the Pascha with large sums of money. I will not say *lent*, for he could hardly calculate on being repaid! However, Mohammed Ali, finding him a convenient sort of person to apply to, in more ways than one, gave him the exclusive right of providing ship-stores, &c. for the English at Alexandria; and as many others employed him too, he used to make a pretty decent thing of it. He was always protected by the authorities, which rendered him very

independent: and when Mr. Gliddon, an English merchant, the present American Consul, once attempted to supply the ships, the Viceroy interfered. Hamed, though not very young, still continued to attach himself to the English,—picking up a few crumbs from those who visited the country, being a sort of lion there, and a useful person as a guide.

We were soon mounted, but had a most uneasy seat; for the Arabs generally carry the stirrups so short, that the rider's knees are like to wage war with his eyes; and it requires some practice to get accustomed to it. We had no time to reflect on the consequences; scarcely were we in the saddle, than away went the poor little animals, the boys running after them, and goading them on with a small piece of pointed stick, which in some instances had a rusty nail at the end of it. It is vain to call out, as you would not be understood, if heard; and you are entertained all the way with the attempts of the driver to speak English in praise of his donkey.—"Howad'giah!—Taieeb—Taieeb! Riglak! Riglak! Taieeb Getir!" "Donkey Taieeb! Iva!"* "Ommar! very good! yes!"—belabouring and goading the poor beast right and left without mercy: if spoken to, he laughs, because he does not understand, and once more falls to upon the jaded brute; and you have no alternative but to submit to your fate, and hang on as well as you can. The distance to the gates is fortunately not great, and in about half an hour or less, we reached the grand "Okellah,"† the residence of the several consuls.

* "Good, good, Sir! very good!—take care!" "Iva!"—yes. "Ommar!"—donkey.

† A word derived from "El Kalaat," a castle. They are generally large and strong buildings, and with only one or perhaps two entrances.

This is the only good or even decent part of the town: the buildings are situated in an open space near what is termed the eastern or new harbour. This constitutes the Frank quarters, and many commodious tenements have lately been erected there, partly by Europeans, and partly by Ibrahim Pascha, who lets them. The French Government have also built a palace for their minister, and there are now two good hotels: one English, the other French. The East India Company refused the Pascha's offer to build them a coal depôt, preferring to have one of their own.

The immediate vicinity of the town is made up of heaps of rubbish, broken pottery, dirt, and ruins, pile upon pile: the very ground is hollow to the sound as you ride along, and not unfrequently gives way. The neighbourhood of Alexandria has not been excavated and examined as it deserves to be: there are some parts that have never been explored at all: and I have no doubt that many important discoveries are yet to be made there. The columns which remained of the famous Library have been taken down and cut up to form the Arsenal: also the granite base of the English Obelisque and other remains. Various buildings, some with upright Corinthian columns and spacious chambers, have been discovered *under* the Old Library; and Champollion cleared away the rubbish from the base of Cleopatra's Needles, and found a flight of beautiful polished steps leading to that monument; clearly proving that the original level of Alexandria was much below the present one. The old city extended to a very considerable distance: the modern town is comparatively small; the population varying from 35,000 to 45,000. But this is no cri-

terion, as people live in holes, and many sleep in the open air.*

Alexandria is now enclosed by turreted walls, which are between thirty and forty feet high, and extensive out-works. There are four gates, at each of which soldiers are stationed. We entered without difficulty: and no passport was demanded; but before I left the country, the system of "Teskerehs" or passports was introduced.

Alexandria, then, retains nothing of her former splendour: we do not even see the shadow of what she once was, notwithstanding all that has been said of the improvements of modern times. No stranger can be otherwise than struck with this, even on his first arrival, in simply passing as we then were, to the consul's residence, the way to which was obstructed by swarms of squalid wretches, who importuned us for that aid which their appearances seemed fully to require:—their eyes were dull and hollow, their cheeks sunk in, their complexion sallow:—they were nearly destitute of clothing; and as they sat huddled together, grovelling in the dirt, their look was abject, vacant, and shrivelled, haggard, sick and degenerate, and altogether such, that a more complete personification of Famine and Misery could not well be conceived. Such a scene is revolting to the feelings of any civilized being. Children are allowed to run about naked; and here and there, a miserable group of dogs presents itself on a mound of accumulated rubbish, growling and disputing over the carcase of an ass or a camel.

We had no difficulty in obtaining access to the

* According to Pliny, there were formerly 300,000 citizens, and about as many slaves; and it was 15 miles in circumference. In 1816—18, the population was only about 14,000..

Consul. He welcomed us to Alexandria, and tendered his services in the most friendly manner. He was about fifty-six years of age, and the father of a family. I laid my plans before him, and asked his advice as to the best course to pursue. The first step was to procure a lodging, and an intelligent servant; for in the East, however familiar a person may be with the language, a servant is absolutely necessary, for various reasons. Coffee and sweetmeats had been presented to us, and we were discussing a quiet pipe of "D'gebaile"* on the divan in a suite of apartments furnished in the oriental style. Mr. Barker clapped his hands three times:—immediately an attendant entered, who was commanded to send Selim, a Janizary (or guard sanctioned by the government to all persons in authority), and Selim came. "Go," said the Consul, "to the hotel and order apartments for these gentlemen directly; and make enquiry if any respectable servants are in the town." Selim made his salaam, and retired, but very soon returned with intelligence that Mohammed Abdini was in want of a situation; Mr. Oliver, an American traveller, who was about to quit the country, having just given him his discharge; and that he would see us respecting him. This man was well known to the Consul as a trust-worthy individual, although a cunning, shrewd fellow, who would look to his own interest;—"but," said he, "you have nothing to fear from him; he will neither rob nor murder you; for he has a wife and family, and some character to support: but he has a good deal of vanity, and requires to be kept at a proper distance." The man was introduced, and his testimonials inspected. They were numerous and favourable. He was a native of Cairo:

* The most esteemed Syrian tobacco.

he had been about sixteen times up the country, to Thebes and the Cataracts, and three times to Palestine; he spoke Arabic, and Italian, and was described as a capital cook. Mr. Oliver gave him a fair character, and we agreed with him for ten dollars per month.* There are servants to be had at all prices; but this is considered the full wages. After some further conversation, we arose to depart, and went to take possession of our new abode, having promised Mr. Barker to return and spend the evening, with his family. Accompanied, therefore, by Mohammed and Selim, we set out to pay our devoirs to our hostess, a dirty, little, swarthy, black-eyed Spaniard. She received us very courteously, and gave us the best accommodation her house would afford, which was miserable enough; but there was no other. We were obliged to put up with one room, and thought ourselves well off to get two beds: but what annoyed us most, was the want of cleanliness, and the intrusions of a three-fold variety of small gentry which did not seem at all conscious that their company was any thing but agreeable! These however, to me, were merciful compared with the mosquitoes, which, even in Lower Hungary, led me a sad life; but in Egypt, I expected no quarter, and I found none. Selim was dispatched on board the "Bristol" to fetch our baggage. We then sallied forth with our drogueman† to look about the town, and deliver a few letters. In the evening, we kept our appointment. On this, and on many other occasions, we experienced the hospitality and friendship of the Consul and his Lady—a truly amiable, kind, and motherly person. A Levantine by birth, she still

* The Spanish dollar was then worth 4*s.* 4*d.* English; the piastre 3½*d.*; The para is the fortieth part of a piastre.

† Interpreter.

dressed in the costume of her country: which is similar to that of the Greeks: the robes being loose and open in front like a pelisse, and a kind of broad band or shawl around the waist, which has rather a singular appearance: the hair is allowed to hang freely down the back and is more or less ornamented; generally plaited into cords, to which small gold coins are attached; but the most singular part of the equipment is a huge pair of lofty, high-heeled wooden clogs or rather pattens; they are worn in the house; a practice which it is difficult to comprehend. In some parts of the Levant it is very common for persons to ramble about the premises without either shoes or stockings, and then pattens are doubtless useful when the weather is bad; but why they should be worn in the house, at other times, I am at a loss to conceive: it can only be from habit. Early in the evening, the Consul informed me that he had received a note from a particular friend of his, who having heard that there was an English physician in the town, now begged that he would intercede for him in behalf of one of his daughters, who had been suffering a long time from a severe attack of rheumatic fever. It was a source of great pleasure to me to reflect that I had been brought up to a profession which was available in a foreign country, and which, from its nature, was calculated to insure me the good will of strangers. I am certainly indebted to it for protection, and the friendly offices not only of Europeans but of the natives; and whilst employing my best energies for the alleviation of human suffering, I not only had the gratification of prosecuting my favorite study with advantage, but I had abundant opportunity of observing character. It has been justly remarked that "what we never miss we rarely

prize." A cup of water in the desert is imbibed as nectar; though what is there so lightly esteemed in the midst of luxury and state? So likewise, in half civilized countries, where there are no institutions, and where education is altogether neglected, nobody is so much sought after by all classes as an intelligent and humane physician. He is regarded as the universal friend of man, the benefactor of the destitute and the afflicted. In Egypt and Syria, however, where the people are groaning under the scourge of oppression, where they are borne down with sorrow and the pangs of hunger, and labouring to support a mass of accumulated evils already too great to be endured, it is melancholy to reflect that the services of a medical man will often avail them little; for their malady is far beyond the reach of art:—nevertheless, the poor deluded creatures flatter themselves that he *can* help them on all occasions: they look up to him as to a being whom "Allah" has sent among them with power to relieve; and they consider that he is highly favored of the Almighty to have been invested with such power! That it is attainable by study is no part of their creed—they refer it entirely to Providence. To God therefore they direct their thoughts; in Him they put implicit trust, and to Him they pray for relief in the hour of trial. In Mohammedan countries, whatever good feeling may exist among individuals, however they may be attached or bound in gratitude (as Christians say,) to relieve, and serve their neighbour, one man never thanks or praises another for benefits received: (unless in the case of a slave to his master; and then it is generally in terms of adulation to some great man:) at least, such is what their religion inculcates. He will prove his gratitude by

acts of kindness, pray for him, and shed his blood in his defence, if necessary;—but he never says, "I thank you." The belief is, that thanksgiving and praise are due only to the "Most High," and that we, who are all equally his creatures, are equal in obligation to Him for his mercies; that, therefore, as we have nothing that we can call our own, whatever gifts or talents may have been bestowed upon us, but are all equally dependant on the Almighty like the birds of the air and the beasts of the field; so ought we to take a lesson from the inferior animals, and *help one another:* that no man is greater or less than another in the eyes of God; and that where the necessity is mutual, there can be no obligation; therefore no thanks are due—no praise. Such is their belief, and it is pretty generally acted up to throughout the Mohammedan empire. All are fatalists; and believing that what has been decreed in heaven cannot be absolved on earth, they tell you that human interference is vain, and often wicked: that whatever evil may come upon them it is their destiny:—that they can only beseech "Allah" to avert or lighten the blow; and that it is their duty to submit implicitly to his will. Whenever they derive benefit from one of their fellow creatures, they bless God, and pray that their benefactor may be defended from harm: they look up to Heaven and exclaim "Marschallah!" "Allah ouakbar!" "Allah Kereem!"*—or they utter with great feeling and devotion, "Allah! il Allah! il Allah!"† or, looking toward the "Káaba"‡ of the Prophet, they mutter a prayer in behalf of their friend, and bring him presents, saying "Inschallah!" that is, God

* God is great! God is wonderful! God is merciful!

† There is but one God!

‡ The Shrine of Mohammed.

willing! our brother shall get well! The H'akkim* replies, "Inschallah! Inschallah!" and, followed by the benedictions of the people, retires, leaving his patient to repose as he best may, surrounded as he generally is, by a host of friends and relatives, charms and incantations! Such is, however, the faith of the individual, that often the fever abates with the receding step of the physician, and he falls into a soft slumber, from which he awakes refreshed and soothed. He hails the approach of the H'akkim as the harbinger of good; he reveres him as his best earthly benefactor, as the dispenser of blessings to mankind, and as the favored agent of God. So deeply are they impressed with this, that they believe it is in his power to contribute to their happiness in various other ways, and that he is sent among them for that purpose also. They not unfrequently therefore ask him for money and advice: and if it, or any other favour be refused, they attribute it to the curse of "Allah," which they suppose to be upon them, or else that they have offended the "man of God."

When Mr. Barker resided at Aleppo as agent to the Levant Company, he once took compassion on a poor fellow who had been ill-treated; he was quite destitute, and covered with wounds. After keeping him a fortnight in his house, feeding and clothing him as one of his own people,—being once more restored to health and vigour, he dismissed him; but when the man was about to depart, he asked him for money! "What!" said Mr. Barker, "money! Is it possible that you ask for money? Have I not kept you here a whole fortnight, fed, and lodged, and clothed you? Is that not enough? Are you so dissatisfied, that when you

* Physician, or wise man.

are going away, healed of your wounds, and your force recruited, you come and ask me to give you money?" The Arab, however, was quite as much astonished as the Consul, and addressed him somewhat in the following terms:—"Allah! Allah! Ouakbar! What shall I say? What shall I do? Is it possible? Marschallah! You have given me food and raiment, and a home, consolation, and advice; and then, when you have restored my health, and raised my drooping spirits, you send me forth to starve upon the road! When I first came to your door, I was wretched, and forsaken by all but Allah!"—here he made a momentary pause, and his lips moved in silence; he then went on:—"Allah directed my steps, and my soul, which was drooping for lack of nourishment, found comfort at a Christian's hands! Blessed be Allah!"—and again he muttered a prayer. "Alas! Sir," he continued, "I am one of the children of adversity. In sorrow was I brought forth, and my fate has been a hard one; but there is still a place in heaven for the sons of the Prophet; and the houris of Paradise shall await the coming of the faithful with joy and gladness. I pray you, send me not forth in this way! You have been kind and good to me, and 'Allah' shall prosper even the unbeliever who is just,—that 'Allah' which has given you power to dispense his blessings to the afflicted poor,—he will not leave his children destitute, and yours shall flourish; for 'Allah' has shewn you favour, and will forget the sins of your fathers, whose perverse spirit made them rebel against our Holy Prophet. Marschallah! Allah! Allah! il Allah!—You have given me to eat and to drink,—you have clothed and sheltered me; and yet is the hungry wolf of the plain, or the

dib* which prowleth in the desert, more happy than I am; for if you send me forth thus destitute, I go hence as wretched as I came, and I shall sink down by the wayside, exhausted, and faint, and sick, and perish in the land of strangers. Give me, then, some money, that men may at least take me into their houses, that so I be not spurned like a dog from the door, and left to shelter with the fretful jackall among the tombs!—Blessed be God!"

Thus ended this extraordinary effusion. It contains a strange admixture of feelings: we observe in it piety, gratitude, self-love, pride, vanity, contempt for Christianity, humility, wisdom, hope, resignation, and fidelity; but we do not find a single word expressive of thankfulness, or rather of obligation to the Consul himself—a little gratitude, perhaps, as evinced by his praying for the prosperity of an unbeliever; but all the glory is given to "Allah" and the Prophet. It contains a good deal of truth, and yet the style of reasoning is curious. Neither is it unphilosophical; for, to feed and clothe a man to-day, and to-morrow to turn him out without the means of subsistence, or prospect of obtaining it, seems at first sight calculated to increase rather than diminish the sufferings of the unfortunate, and to correspond but little with primitive notions of charity. However, be this as it may, in the East we sometimes meet with very original ideas, and this anecdote serves to illustrate some of them.

I was accompanied by Mr. Charles Barker to the house of Mr. Gliddon, in whose society I afterwards passed much of my time. I found his daughter, as had been represented to me, very ill; but I had the happiness to restore her to health, in spite of curses

* Hyæna.

and spells; for a black female slave, who formed a part of Mr. Gliddon's establishment, was not a little jealous of my interference, and seemed to think that I was infringing upon her rights and privileges, as she prided herself on her medical skill, and wished to have recourse to magic. She was very dissatisfied at my treatment, and would have had me dismissed. She looked *very black* whenever I made my appearance; but she beheld her young charge recover at last without the aid of witchcraft, spells, or sorcery! Very soon after this, I was afforded another opportunity of witnessing the influence of the same ideas on the mind of one of these people. It is a very common thing for European families to have a black nurse in the East, and they are generally most faithful and excellent servants, notwithstanding the prejudices of early education. I was attending a young lady who had been a long time confined with a bad leg, and in this instance, too, my poor simple friend was very angry to think she was not allowed to have her way; and she said repeatedly, that it was "of no use to let el H'akkim come there,—he not do any good;" for that her young lady had got "a Shitan" (that is, a devil) in her, and that there was but one way to get him out: that she must sit by herself three hours every day in the sun, and pray to Allah—"Allah! Allah! you come you please, —you take him Shitan out!" Her young mistress was, however, spared the penalty of this pretty amusement, and the delightful prospect of being either baked or fried; for "el H'akkim," much to the astonishment of poor blackey, contrived to take "him Shitan out," without calling in *her* to his aid, or having recourse to either charms, incantations, necromancy, or any other supernatural means!

The common people in the East attribute a great deal more to the influence of his Satanic Majesty than we do in the West. The idea of sitting in the sun to cure diseases prevails very generally, and it is with many a favourite remedy. The prevalence of this and many other superstitious notions furnishes a very striking proof of the darkness which still prevails over the minds of these deluded people: I say deluded, because they are not only suffering from the various troubles which agitate the country, but because the government is too much engaged with political affairs to interest itself about the spiritual welfare of any portion of the inhabitants, and because these simple creatures, who are as capable of feeling and of appreciating the blessings of Providence as Christians, and many others besides the blacks,—become the dupes of a set of crafty hypocrites, who go about dispensing charms to them, and imposing upon their credulity in a great variety of ways. Miracle-mongers and saints are to be found in every village; there is no want of soothsayers and wise men; but unfortunately, their wisdom consists only in artifice and cunning, and in the power which they possess above their fellows of working upon the imagination of the simple.

But as with the fanatics of the Romish Church and the "Rabbi of the Chasidim,"* very few, if any, I believe, ever witnessed the performance of their miracles but those of their own order, whose business it is to encourage the deceit. As with them, however, there

* A fanatical sect of Rabbinical Jews, dissolute, degraded beings, who pretend to be in immediate communion with God, and that they have the power of working miracles, foretelling events, and so on. They are very filthy in their persons, extremely ignorant, wild and ferocious. They are to be found chiefly in Poland, especially on the Hungarian frontier, where I had an opportunity of seeing a good deal of them.—For an account of these people, see "Geschichte der Israeliten." By Dr. Jost, vol. ix. p. 160.

are plenty of weak and credulous persons to be found, ready to be made their dupes, by coming to receive the blessings which they promise to impart. Whether these pretended devotees work miracles or not, there is no doubt that they work themselves into a state little short of phrenzy for the time being; for they have recourse to all kinds of contortions, noises, and grimaces, that they may excite the feelings of their followers, and the better impose upon their ignorance. When their minds are thus prepared, they find it no difficult matter to dispose of amulets at a great price, and "w'araga" or charms, consisting generally of slips of parchment with religious sentences written on them, (extracts from the Khoran, or the reputed sayings of some celebrated Mohammedan anchorite,) to those who are about to enter upon a journey, or who may wish to be protected against the "evil eye," and the machinations of fiendish spirits; or to be otherwise exempted from danger, sickness, or sorrow. Many of the votaries of such superstition are females; who seek to remove the infirmities of their nature, by listening to the predictions of a self-created prophet, who finds it his interest to promise them the fulfilment of their wishes; and that through his intercession with "Allah," they shall become the joyful mothers of children. Such artful impostors exist chiefly in large and populous towns, and are not to be confounded with many other religious devotees who come from afar, and profess to cure diseases and heal the wounded spirit by their prayers and the laying on of hands: for these take no money, and are an artless, innocent, well disposed, though ignorant people, who have persuaded themselves, that because they have made the holy pilgrimage, and from choice lead a life of privation, their

prayers will be heard and implicitly granted. They actually believe that they have the power of dispensing blessings to mankind,—that they are the favoured of "Allah" and the Prophet; and they are to all intents and purposes as deluded as those who listen to them. They must not be mixed up with the wily, cunning vagabonds, who prowl about from place to place under the denomination of saints, or magicians, seeking out objects on which to exercise their skill. It is truly astonishing with what success these meet; and I have even known Europeans acknowledge themselves in doubt concerning some of the tricks which they had witnessed. Not that they imagined such mysterious personages had any dealings with the spirits of the lower world, and still less with those above; but that they were quite at a loss to understand or explain how such conjurors succeeded in accomplishing what they did.

It is not my purpose to enter further upon this subject at present. I shall have occasion to describe facts which I also have seen, and I think my readers will agree with me, that these wandering "Magi" are nothing more than scheming adventurers, like our fortune-tellers and conjurors at fairs, whose province it is to deceive;—less harmless, perhaps, inasmuch as they pass themselves off for actual magicians or necromancers, and endeavour to persuade people that they have it in their power by a *supernatural* agency, to curse and to bless, cast out devils, foretell future events, heal the sick, and so forth. They pretend by incantations to communicate with the devil, so as to be able to discover hidden treasures, and detect a thief, which they no doubt often do, simply by well practised sagacity, and by testing the conscience of the suspected

parties. But there are many thousands elsewhere, who, like them, live by their wits in the daily exercise of their *calling*, striving to get an *honest* living by industriously working upon the imaginations of those who have either not νοῦς enough to see through their duplicity, or firmness enough to resist it. In a country like Egypt, we are not surprised, if persons of this stamp are to be found flocking about the tent or habitation of a conjuror: for, such is the darkness which prevails over a great proportion of the population, that it almost forms a part of their education to believe in the influence of spells and curses. It is not wonderful then, that they should put their trust also in magicians, and imagine that He who can inflict a punishment, pronounce a curse, and subject one to the machinations of an evil spirit, should also have the power from above, through "Allah," of removing the anticipated consequences when duly ingratiated. Of the existence of good and bad spirits, the major part of the inhabitants have no doubt whatever; and they conceive that H'adgjs and others who are distinguished by their supposed piety, may invoke and expel them if they will. We read of persons "possessed of devils," and of the "casting out of devils," as common among the Jews and other Oriental nations, from the earliest period; and the idea is even now so general in Egypt, Persia, and Arabia, that it is acted upon on almost all occasions; and we are frequently told that a man who is sick has "got a devil!" particularly if his complaint have withstood the superstitious mummery, and the prayers of some Mohammedan saint, who, having failed to relieve the patient's sufferings by miraculous agency, has, in his wisdom, pronounced him "*incurable*,"—for that "the curse of 'Allah' is upon him!"

If it were necessary to multiply examples, a volume might be written on this subject alone; but I shall close my remarks for the present, by observing that so great faith have the "fellahs"* of Egypt in charms, that they very frequently ask a stranger, especially if he be a medical man, and a Frank,† to give them some, which they afterwards preserve with great diligence, and only bring them out in time of sickness and misfortune. They may be seen in great variety hanging about the neck, or tied to different parts of the body, particularly the seat of pain; and if they do not work miracles, they, no doubt, often effect that which ordinary measures certainly would fail to accomplish. Belzoni mentions, that on one occasion, having administered to the wants of a sick person, and procured him relief, he came to see him a short time afterwards, when, hearing that Mrs. Belzoni was a little indisposed —without asking what the matter might be,—the man wished to employ a celebrated charm or talisman, which he said he possessed, in her favour, which, however, was declined.

I have already attempted to give some idea of the approach to the town of Alexandria,—the interior is not much better. With the exception of the Frank Quarter, the streets are all narrow, dirty, and full of disgusting sights. The shops are only stalls, as in the generality of bazaars; and frequently canvass is thrown across from side to side, in order to keep out the sun, which is an advantage in a hot climate, though it often makes the atmosphere feel very close. Coffee-shops abound: the houses are built with flat roofs, and have many of them more than one story, and private cisterns.

* Peasantry.

† The term Frank is applied to all who are not Mohammedans, except the Jews.

The site of the old town may be traced far beyond the walls, particularly to the south, where the ground is covered with a confused mass of ruins. It has aptly enough been compared to a stone-mason's yard; for broken columns, architraves, and obelisques, lie scattered about in all directions, and many of what are termed the Frank country-houses at "Coom el Dekkeh," are built of such materials. There is indeed no other stone to be found within 300 miles. These ruins at present include a space of six or seven miles in circumference, and this gives us but a very poor idea of the extent of the old town. When Alexandria surrendered to the Caliph Omār, it is said to have contained "4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 400 theatres or public edifices, and 12,000 shops; and a population, which may be estimated, by its including 40,000 Jews." Of the monuments of antiquity, there remains now hardly a vestige: and were it not that one likes to pause upon the spot, and consider the changes that have taken place, not only in Egypt, but throughout that world, in which the famous town of Alexandria once played so important a part, the traveller need not be detained very long. If he merely wishes to see the "lions," and depart, as many do, his curiosity will soon be satisfied; but there is a great deal more to interest than simply that which meets the eye. However, the limits of this book will not permit me to indulge in my reflections on these subjects; and I am compelled to pass rapidly on, much more so than I actually did; for on this my first visit, I resided about a month, and should not then have taken my departure, but on Bradford's account, as will be seen in the sequel. It was the second day of our sojourn at the hotel, and according to agreement, we set out, accompanied by Captain

Riches, his son, Mr. Charles Barker, and old Mustapha Hamed, to make our first visit to Pompey's Pillar, and the various other objects of interest. Donkeys were soon procured, and away we went, headed by our "Mehmandar,"* old Hamed, rolled up like a huge ball, upon a small jackass, his turbaned head sunk forward between his broad round shoulders, and his knees up to his eyes—altogether presenting a most ludicrous appearance, and rendered still more extraordinary, in that he was quietly pacing in the centre of a group of English, dressed in the tight costume of the north, which, by the bye, already made us wax warm, and was very ill adapted to Egyptian *stirrups* and the luxurious divan; the comforts and attractions of which we were just beginning to appreciate. Besides, we found out that the saucy Arabs "laughed at our beards!" (not literally, for as yet we had none), but on account of the formal cut of the Frank dress, and of the *hat*, which, to a Mussulman, is an absolute abomination; because it is regarded as the ensign of Christianity. We could not lay aside the hat; but we vowed to have at least a pair of fierce moustaches to fright away the boys, and let the women see we *could* have a beard, if we liked. So from that day forth we allowed them to sprout—every morning watching their progress, like a pet plant; and they soon began to shew signs of coming to maturity; but the inconvenience of the hat became every hour more annoying. The ground over which we rode was very uncertain; it sounded hollow, partly from the condition of the ruins, but chiefly from the number of excavated tombs and reservoirs, many of them being only imperfectly obliterated. The soil about Alexandria is light and sandy, and mixed with stone. Corn

* Generally an armed guide.

is grown in the season, and also the orange and the lemon; but the date is the most profitable. Alexandria was once famous for the fruit "nebbek" (Paliurus Ahenæi), and also the "Kishne" (Cassia Keshta). The latter grows a good deal in the West Indies; the former is well known in the Desert, and is much prized by the Arabs: some of it was given to me by some of the Bedouins, at one of their feasts, at which I was present, at Tor, on the borders of the Red Sea. The fruit is about as large as a cherry, and has, in like manner, a stone within it; it differs in colour, approaching nearer to a reddish brown, and tastes something like an apple or quince. There is a quantity of kali cultivated at times on the banks of the canal, and the Alexandrian senna is also a source of considerable profit. A great part of the old town seems to have stood on arches; and some of the cisterns were very large: for then, as now, there does not appear to have been any other means of supplying the town with water. The roofs of the cisterns were usually supported by pillars, and were of massy timber. In Browne's time, there were only seven of these reservoirs fit for use; water, he tells us, was still kept in them, and sold at the rate of four or five parahs a camel's load. It is very common to attribute whatever is here not understood, to Cleopatra: especially when the monks of the convents have any voice in the matter: thus the baths of this fair queen are pointed out; but there is no dependance to be placed on what is said respecting them.

One of the most prominent objects in Alexandria is "Pompey's Pillar." It has so often been described, that a very few words are necessary here. Its history is still a matter of doubt. Persons are apt to fall into a very natural error concerning it, and imagine that it

was put up by Cæsar to commemorate the success of his arms against Pompey; but this idea is, I believe, without foundation. The opinion which seems to approach nearer to the truth, and which classics chiefly subscribe to (though even that is little more than surmise) is, that it was erected by a governor of Egypt, whose name was Pompey, in honour of the Emperor Dioclesian.

The Emperor's name is still to be seen upon the shaft of the column, and it is pretty well authenticated that such a person as Pompey did exist, and was actually governor of Lower Egypt in the time of Dioclesian. The chief authority on this subject is M. Quatremère.* The column is still a fine one, although much mutilated. The shaft consists of a single piece of solid Syene granite. The entire height, including the pedestal, is ninety-nine feet; but, in 1821, Captain Smith of the "Adventure," had the curiosity to ascend the column with several of his officers, and with Mr. Maddox, to whose account I may therefore refer for an accurate statement of the dimensions.† That gentleman informs us that the ascent was made by a ladder thrown over the top; and that the only inconvenience felt was from the pain in the arms produced by attempting to hold fast; for the ladder swung a good deal, and its steps were rather wide apart. "From appearances," says Mr. M. "it might be concluded that a globe or statue had formerly been fixed

* Vide Walpole's Memoirs, p. 375, note.

† The whole height . . . . . By the glass. FT. 99 IN. 7 By the line. FT. 99 IN. 4

Length of the single stone which forms the shaft 67 7

Diameter of the upper part of the shaft 8 3 8 0½

Diameter of the lower part of the shaft 9 3 9 0½

Excursions in the Holy Land, Egypt, &c., by John Maddox, Esq., vol. i. p. 126.

here." Pococke gives a similar account:—but Dr. Clarke supposes, that this circular cavity which has been described, and which is about two inches deep, was intended to receive, not a statue, but an *urn*, and he goes so far as to suppose that the urn might contain the head or the heart of Pompey the Great: thus making it appear that the column in question was a sepulchral monument; but the balance of the evidence is on the other side, and Dr. Clarke's argument is founded on a mere conjecture. The space at the top must be considerable, as on the occasion just quoted, there were no less than six persons there at the same time. An unsuccessful attempt was once made by an Arab to blow up this fine column, with a view to obtain the treasure which he expected to find beneath it; forgetting that he would find also plenty to share the booty with him, if the governor did not even claim the whole, and dispose of *him* for his officiousness.

Not far from the sea-shore, to the eastward, stands the Capuchin Convent, a little to the N. E. of which are some heaps of ruins, supposed to occupy the site of the ancient church of Saint Athanasius; they evidently mark the situation of some extensive edifice; but being so close to the celebrated obelisques known by the name of Cleopatra's Needles, it is more probable, I think, that they once formed a part of the palace which the latter are believed to have adorned. St. Athanasius was patriarch of Alexandria, A. D. 373. He was renowned for his opposition to the Arians, and for his name having been affixed to the creed which contains his doctrines. He died in 373. Alban Butler says the creed was compiled in Latin in the 5th century.

It is truly melancholy to observe the desolate condition of the Christian Church in Egypt, and in Alexandria more especially; for with the exception of the convents where a few miserable monks assemble to worship God in obscurity, away from the eye of man, and in some places subject to insult,—there is not a single building to be met with which is set aside for religious purposes. Notwithstanding there are so many resident Christians, notwithstanding the diminution of prejudice, and the comparative spirit of toleration which exists among the more enlightened of the Mohammedans,—it will scarcely be believed that hitherto there has been no chaplain attached to either of the European embassies! Not only are the churches of Asia Minor destroyed, but the wings of persecution have been extended over the East also. How plainly do we see the fulfilment of the prophecies, even at Alexandria! How forcibly are we struck at every step, with the accuracy of those documents which *have* been handed down to us, and how much is it to be regretted that any portion of them should have been lost or defaced! What an inexhaustible treasure would not the famous library of this once great city have opened to us! had it not, in the 7th century, under the Caliphe Omar Ebn Al Khattab, fallen a prey to the fury of relentless fanatics—that library, which was the talk of the whole world, and to which Plato and Pythagoras came to study, and which contained such rich stores of learning that all the philosophers of the East and of the West were wont to refer to it for information and authority! Alas! we know not what we lost when it was destroyed!—for doubtless many of its MSS. contained much that was valuable relative to the early ages of the world, and of

which we now know nothing. Yes! the famous library of Alexandria is gone!—it has been reduced to a single volume:—the "Khoran!" the only book the followers of Islam are permitted to read—"a pocket *vade mecum*" as Sir Frederick Henniker quaintly terms it, "of love, law, and religion!" I conceive that by the destruction of that wonderful collection of manuscripts, the infidel Omar inflicted a blow ten times more severe upon Christianity, and more fatal to the progress of civilization generally, than all that the sword of Mohammed or his deluded followers in their mistaken zeal for religion, have ever been able to accomplish. Some idea may be formed of the extent and magnificence of this library, when it is remembered that the MSS. there deposited had been for years collecting by the Ptolemies at an enormous expense, and that they had been brought from *all parts of the earth*. They were burnt in 642; and, it is said, that the volumes were so numerous, that they actually supplied fuel for as many as 4000 *baths, during six months*. The schools of Alexandria were once so famous, that to have studied there was an universal passport; and we read that "the astronomical school, founded by Philadelphus, maintained its superior reputation for ten centuries, till the time of the Saracens." That Alexandria was once famous for its churches, there seems to be no doubt. Where are they now? The private meetings of families, and the occasional preachings of the Protestant missionaries on board the English ships in the harbour, and at their own dwellings, are the only demonstrations of religious feeling afforded by any part of the Frank population; and hence, many of the less informed Mohammedans naturally suppose that the people called Christians have no religion at all;

for they *see* no attempt to worship God in any shape.* But that a change, and a most important change, *is* about to take place, I firmly believe; and that many of the ancient prophecies which have not yet been explained, will, ere long, be open to the understanding of all. The unerring truth of scripture has lately been strikingly illustrated. There is not only "an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt," but "a pillar at the border thereof" is *even now* building. "And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of Hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors," &c.† Colonel Hodges went to Alexandria as Consul-general. He arrived on the 14th of Dec. 1839, and the next day laid the first stone of a Protestant church, to be called the "church of St. Mark." The Rev. Mr. Duff, a missionary of some celebrity in India, who happened to be present, performed the religious part of the ceremony, in which he was followed by the Rev. Mr. Grimshaw. The great work of civilization is fast advancing:—fanaticism and superstition are diminishing in proportion to the diffusion of knowledge; infidelity is out of fashion, and those who *profess* it are considered to be devoid of taste:—the eyes of the multitude are gradually opening to their own interest: Mohammed Ali is but an agent in the hands of the Almighty; his power is expanding like a circle in the water, which enlarges until it bursts: and the Ottoman Empire is rapidly coming to a close. The veil will then be thrown aside; people will no longer ob-

* At Alexandria there are, it is true, a Latin, a Coptic, and a Greek convent; but their form of worship is such, that those who dwell there are considered idolaters, and hated by the Mussulmauns. When there is no missionary, the Greeks perform the rites of baptism and burial for the Protestants.

† Vide Isaiah, chap. xix. v. 19 to the end.

stinately adhere to doctrines which their conscience must tell them, if they think at all, are erroneous, and altogether devoid of that spiritual comfort which the Christian so pre-eminently derives under affliction, and which *no other* religion *can* confer. As mankind become enlightened, so will they feel and be convinced that there is no system of religion, whether in regard to theory, practice, or the blessings and advantages it offers, which will for a single moment, admit of comparison with that which we profess;—then will the religion of Jesus Christ flourish triumphant over all; and, as has been again and again predicted, animosity shall be laid aside, sectarianism shall cease, and we shall become "one fold under *one* Shepherd."

St. Athanasius was not the only one of the early preachers of the gospel who resided at Alexandria, which was always an important point, on account of its learning and its commerce: the patriarchs and others, holy men, often retired there for a season, and kept up a constant correspondence with those of the inhabitants who had become their converts. St. Mark is spoken of as one of these, and there can be no question, I think, that he was.*

The "Needles of Cleopatra" are two beautiful

* "It is generally allowed," says Mr. Audley, "that Mark, mentioned in 1 Peter, v. 13, is the Evangelist; but it has been doubted whether he be the same as Mark, 'surnamed John,' mentioned in the Acts, and in some of St. Paul's Epistles." Dr. Lardner thinks there is but one Mark in the New Testament:—John Mark the Evangelist, and fellow labourer of Paul, Barnabas, and Peter. He was the son of Mary, a pious woman of Jerusalem, at whose house the disciples used to meet. "And it was here that they were assembled when Peter came to them after that he had escaped from prison." (Acts xii. 12.) "It is not known at what period Mark became a follower of Christ. His gospel was probably written about the year 63 or 64, and it has been said, that Mark going into Egypt, first preached the gospel which he had written, and '*planted there many churches.*' He does not appear to have been a martyr, but died in the eighth year of Nero, and was buried at Alexandria." However, Butler says, "it is certain that he was appointed by St. Peter 'Bishop of Alexandria,' that

obelisques, which are supposed to have been brought from Memphis, and to have once adorned the palace of the Ptolemies. They are about sixty-four feet in height, that is, above the sand, and eight feet square at the base.* They are covered with hieroglyphics, referring to the temples and statues at Thebes and Heliopolis, as illustrative of Egyptian mythology, and they are formed of one entire piece of Syene granite,

he *was martyred* in the year 68,§ and that when he was discovered by his persecutors, he was offering to God the prayer of oblation, or the mass." So that we are led to believe, from Butler's account, that "the mass" was performed even in the time of St. Mark. But the "Prayer of Oblation" here referred to, was essentially different to the ceremony of *Mass* as performed in the present day, by the Church of Rome!

The same writer gravely quotes the acts of St. Mark also, to acquaint us that St. Anianus, whom he calls the second bishop of Alexandria (A. D. 86.) "was a shoe-maker of that city, whose hand, being wounded with an awl, St. Mark healed when he first entered the city. Such was his fervour and progress in virtue and learning, that St. Mark constituted him Bishop of Alexandria during his absence; and Anianus governed that *great Church* four years with him, and eighteen years and seven months after his death." Robinson's version of the story is, that "as St. Mark was walking in Alexandria, he burst the stitching of his shoe, so that he could not proceed till it was repaired; the nearest cobbler was the man, and he mended the shoe or sandal, or whatever it was. This man was taught the gospel by St. Mark; he afterwards taught others, and actually became the first pontiff of Alexandria, that is to say, the first regular teacher of a few poor people at Alexandria, who, peradventure, had no other cathedral than a garret. A teacher of primitive Christianity is not to be confounded with a patriarch of Alexandria."‖ This last account certainly conveys a very different idea of the case than the language employed by Butler, which is rather calculated to deceive; for although both authors agree as to the humble origin of Anianus, who afterwards became a *teacher* of religion, the former of them leaves upon our mind an impression that the Christian religion was fully established and freed from all its difficulties; whereas it was restrained at that very time by the shackles of tyranny, and labouring under all kinds of persecution. Frequently the early Christian pastors, who were all poor and lowly men, were even obliged to assemble their followers by stealth—and such was the *great church* alluded to by Butler. The black deeds that marked the reign of Nero cannot surely be forgotten: and the condition of the church at the period to which Butler refers, was any thing but great, whatever it might afterwards have become.

* Dr. Clarke says sixty-six feet high, and seven square.

§ The pastures at the foot of the cliffs close to the east of the city are supposed to be the place where St. Mark suffered.

‖ Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, 42.

which, however, has lost its florid red colour, and become pale, in consequence of the partial decomposition of the feldspar. One of them is still standing, and is said to have been presented to the French by Mohammed Ali. The other, which is the best of the two, notwithstanding it has been thrown down, was in like manner given to the English; and I believe it was once contemplated to bring it to this country: but for some reason not explained, the order which had been given, was suddenly countermanded, and the sailors were prohibited assisting in the work. It would require a very considerable sum of money to remove it; and, in my opinion, it would be more correct taste to let it remain where it is. As no further steps have been taken concerning it, and as the French have lately conveyed to Paris, a much larger obelisque, (from Lúxor in the Thebaïd,) the consideration of the subject in this place, may possibly be productive of good!

There can be no doubt, that so interesting and important a relic ought to be zealously preserved from sacrilegious hands; and when I was in Egypt, I regarded its neglected condition with no ordinary feelings. I thought it a great reproach to any scientific nation to allow so fine a monument of antiquity to remain half buried in the sand, and, of course, imperfectly seen:—to say nothing of the risk to which it was constantly exposed. Now, to our great mortification, intelligence has been received, that the pedestal on which the obelisque formerly stood, has been broken in pieces and carried away *as materials to repair the harbour!* We are not told by whose order. If the Pascha had commanded it to be done, the *whole* would probably have been taken—not the pedestal only; and it is not very likely that the Arabs would trouble themselves to

cut through the hardest granite when there was abundance of lime-stone among the ruins, which would cause them so much less labour. Many years ago, when the Alexandrian obelisque was presented by the Pascha to the English Government, a tablet bearing an inscription commemorative of the valour of the British army, was placed under it, together with some coins; but strange to say, the obelisque which was then lying on the ground, has been suffered to remain in the same position ever since. As soon as the English consul heard that such an unwarrantable attack had been made upon it, and that the tablet was in danger, he caused the latter to be removed to his house; but he was not in time to save the coins,—they were already stolen. It is not for me to say who it was that injured the pedestal, and exposed the tablet to risk and insult. The Arabs bear us no animosity, they prefer us to every other nation; and I am satisfied they would not have done this without orders from some party or other. We may congratulate ourselves that the obelisque has sustained no greater damage, and certainly something should be done to prevent the repetition of such depredations. The "Needles of Cleopatra" are not only to be ranked with the finest monuments of their kind, but one of them especially, as a memorial of British valour, deserves to be defended from the hands of the spoiler, who may find motives for offering it indignities! We have been charged with lukewarmness and apathy, for not causing this stupendous and unrivalled trophy to be erected in London, as it would then be calculated to keep alive the recollection of that effectual blow, which was given by the English army to the ambition of Napoleon. In the metropolis, we do not require such a memento: and it may be questionable how far

we are justified in thus triumphing over our enemies. War is sometimes unavoidable; but it is always to be lamented: and it is surely vain glory to be continually reminding our neighbours that they were beaten. History will do that; and as we are the conquerors, I think we should act much more nobly were we to let the obelisque be preserved where it now is, in memory of those of the contending parties, who shed their blood upon the spot.

Much as I desire to see my country enriched with whatever is valuable or excellent, I cannot subscribe to the opinion which advocates the transportation of these interesting relics. As long as they remain on their own soil, they are classically important; but the moment they cross the seas, their interest in a great degree ceases; they are converted into toys and puppets—mere objects of curiosity; and as such they are regarded by the astonished multitude; for few understand the hieroglyphics, and they are appreciated only by the connoisseur and the historian: whereas in the East, they call forth the most delightful associations, and they are in character both with the climate and with the other antique monuments around them. In Egypt, they have stood for ages, and might do so again: if they have suffered, it has been rather by the hand of man than of time; and I am quite sure that those who resided long enough in the country to be able really to appreciate its antiquities, would be the very last persons who would wish to see them removed. Whether we regard "Cleopatra's Needle" as a specimen of the antique, as a testimonial of "British glory," or as a monument to the deceased, all association must be spoiled when we behold it surrounded by the hum and bustle of a crowded city. It would be quite out

of place, and the sum of money which it would cost to bring it hither, would be sufficient to erect a splendid national monument, interesting to all, and calculated to advance the *true* glory of England, by encouraging the arts and sciences at home!

Instead, then, of removing the obelisque, I would have it reinstated upon its original site, and having cleared away the rubbish from its vicinity, I would preserve, in a conspicuous situation, a handsome tablet, with a suitable inscription to the memory of the deceased in arms; and surround the whole by an appropriate ballustrade. In this way, I conceive, the honour of our army and navy, and of all who value their important services in Egypt, would be far better perpetuated, and with better taste, than if the monument were to be banished from the scene of those proud deeds of which we boast, and to be transported to a region where, sooner or later, it would fall a sacrifice to the ravages of a very variable climate.

Much has been said about the skill and ingenuity which the French displayed in transporting the Lúxor Obelisque to Europe. It was certainly a most arduous undertaking, and reflects great credit upon them for the manner in which the work was accomplished. Their eagerness in collecting Egyptian curiosities has also been spoken of. I am sorry I cannot say much in their favour on this head; for when anything was to be got, they have sometimes evinced but little modesty, and even a great want of courtesy towards other travellers, which is very unbecoming, especially in men of science. That they are not always very scrupulous, will appear, I think, in the course of this narrative, and the following circumstance also tends to illustrate.

In July, 1830, the "Dromedaire," a large French

store-ship, came to Alexandria, in order, as I understood, to make arrangements with the French consul, relative to the removal of one of "Cleopatra's Needles," and the obelisque which, as I have stated, has since been conveyed to Paris,—and I was more than once in company with the gentleman who was officially charged with this business. Mr. Barker informed me, that one day, whilst these arrangements were making, the French consul came to him, and very unceremoniously set forth, that "as the English had so long neglected the Pascha's present, they seemed in a manner to have relinquished all claim to it,"—curious reasoning, by the bye!—"and that, as the 'Dromedaire' had come to fetch one of the 'needles,' they might as well take away the other also!"

It is really much to be lamented that circumstances have permitted either the French or any other nation to remove so many things from Egypt as they have done, *without any authentic public document being kept of the modern history and future destination of objects which relate to the hieroglyphics.* Until lately, there has been no museum in the country, and thus have interesting monuments been defaced, and a variety of valuable antiques carried off at the caprice of individuals, and scattered through the world, no man knows where.* They may have been preserved or not; but no sort of classification or connexion has been attended to, nor has any account been kept of them; so that they can be of comparatively little use to their possessors, and still less to science, since those

* Dr. Warne, who was appointed English Vice-consul in Cairo, when Col. Campbell was Consul General, greatly to his credit, interfered, and did his utmost to prevent antiquities being taken away. He succeeded also in establishing a Literary Institution at Cairo, and I hope that all the authorities will in future render it their united support.

who are prosecuting the study of the hieroglyphics have no opportunity of consulting them either personally or otherwise. What I so much regret is now irremediable; but henceforth it would be quite possible to establish some such record, through the medium of the several consuls and agents. The advantages of a plan of this kind are obvious. At present we know very little of Egyptian literature; such documents, if properly connected and arranged, might furnish a clue to future discoveries; whereas, in their present isolated state, the various objects which have been brought to Europe avail us nothing: they serve but to adorn our shelves as mere antiques, and to be gazed at by the curious; for though their meaning may be often guessed at and commented on by the learned, it is perhaps as little understood as the present condition of the lost tribes of Israel. This is a question of some moment, for there remains a great deal more to be discovered concerning the temples and antiquities of Egypt than has ever yet been brought to light; and, in proportion as our acquaintance with the subject may increase, so may we hope to know more about the early history of Arabia, Persia, Mesopotamia, and the interior of India, from which latter source the Egyptians, the Greeks and Romans, and subsequently ourselves, have in turn derived an enlightened condition.

Nobody can travel in Egypt without feeling transported at every step. We are more and more impressed with the truth of Holy Writ, and the light of conviction illumines the understanding as the morning sun dissipates the vapours of the night. Let us only examine with an unbiassed mind, and we shall be surprised at the facilities afforded us; the pages of the Old Testament will be unfolded to view, and many

passages, which seemed to be obscure before, will now become intelligible and plain.

Perhaps there is no country in the world which, if properly considered, is better calculated to remove prejudice, and open our eyes to the fulfilment of ancient prophecy, than Egypt. We cannot, therefore, be too careful to watch over these interesting records of the past: our object should be to protect them from harm; but if we take them away, we destroy the chain of evidence. Let us then rather enlighten the rulers of Egypt, convince them of the necessity of preserving these things inviolate, and divest them at the same time of the absurd idea which they entertain about the existence of hidden treasure. No one who has acquired the slightest taste for Egyptian literature can be otherwise than grieved when he hears of the country being stripped of its monuments; for they have always been, and still are the wonder of the world; and with all our civilization and boasted modern improvements, there is that to be seen in Egypt which is far beyond the comprehension of the brightest intellect.

CHAPTER IV.

ALEXANDRIA. — STATISTICS AND RESOURCES. — PROCEEDINGS OF MOHAMMED ALI.—EGYPTIAN MARINE. —THE ARMY.—CLIMATE AND DISEASE.—INCIDENTS. —RECORDS OF THE PAST, &c.

We returned home much delighted with our excursion, but chafed from the heat and the jolting of the donkeys. We took refuge on the divan, and having dispatched a "pilaf," * were regaling ourselves with a quiet "t'chibouque," † some coffee, and a modest cup of Cyprus, when we received a visit from Mr. Chas. Barker, who came to conduct me to Mr. Harris and other merchants to whom I had brought letters. We passed the evening at Mr. Gliddon's, had some interesting conversation about the country, and retired early to bed, but not to sleep; for it was excessively hot, and the fleas were both numerous and nimble. They seemed to have a pretty good understanding too, with their friends and contemporaries, the mosquitoes, which opened upon us right and left, as soon as the light was extinguished; and kept up an incessant whizz, the whole night through. Towards morning, we both fell into a dose; for the fleas and the flies began to get tired, and went to roost. We

* A standing dish in the East, consisting of rice boiled in the Indian fashion, in the liquor in which a chicken has been cooked. The chicken being smothered with the rice, the whole is well soaked in butter, and seasoned. Sometimes small pieces of broiled meat are substituted for the chicken, and garnished with onions or tomata.

† The term given to the long Egyptian pipe.

awoke weary, irritable, and feverish, as a matter of course, and fain would we have encroached a little on the day; but being once fairly roused, we found it impossible, on account of the continued din and bustle without.

As soon as breakfast was over, I went to the Seraglio Point, to pay a visit to Boghos Bey—cunning Boghos —Boghos Youssouf, the Pascha's first Drogueman, and Minister of Commerce in Alexandria: a shrewd, crafty, subtle, calculating fellow, who is constantly at His Highness' elbow; a very convenient, useful, scheming, and effective sort of machine. I had brought a letter to him from his brother, a merchant in Trieste; and to whom he has secured by his influence, the principal part of the trade between the two ports.

I was conducted to a building contiguous to the new palace, set aside for business, and the residence of various officers. Here I was shown into a large room, with several windows, and very little furniture; indeed nothing but a divan extending along three sides of the apartment, and some matting on the floor. After waiting a short time, enter Signor Boghos, a tall, pale, care-worn, meagre-looking personage, dressed in the long loose Syrian d'goobba, shawl, and turban; and bearing in his girdle a handsome silver ink-case, peculiar to the countries of the East. It is made to contain also the pens, which consist of reeds, and answer very well, as they best suit the form of the Arabic characters, which have no fine strokes, and require to be written from right to left. I rose on his admission. He motioned me to be seated; placed himself in a corner of the divan, and eyed me from head to foot. Thus, Ecce Boghos! the celebrated Boghos, whose very manner and appearance marked

the character and calling of the individual. He was ceremonious; and at first, I thought, more distant than was to be attributed to the cold habits even of such men. Supposing that, like other adventurers, I had some interested scheme on foot, he asked me "In what capacity I wished to serve?" "In no capacity at all," I replied, and gave him to understand that I was merely travelling for information and amusement. "And do not want to enter the Pascha's service?" "Certainly not." Immediately his countenance brightened up, and his manner changed. Accustomed to continual solicitations from an endless variety of Europeans who visited Egypt, only to probe the depth of the Pascha's pocket,—without reflecting upon the contents of his brother's letter, he jumped to the conclusion that I only came there, like the rest, for what I could get; but the moment he was undeceived, he grew civil, screwed his mouth into a smile, and tendered his services with great politeness. He bowed, he promised, he acknowledged the favor I had conferred on him by calling, ordered pipes and coffee, and begged to know what he could do to serve me, &c. &c. I told him I wanted to see Mohammed Ali, and Ibrahim: and that I should be glad of any letters, firmauns,† teskerèhs,* and the like, which he thought might be useful to me in prosecuting my journey. He then questioned me as to the precise nature of the object which I had in view. I told him, that "in addition to the antiquities, and the institutions established by Mohammed Ali, of which in Europe we had heard so much, I felt chiefly interested about the diseases of the climate; and that if I met with the plague, I should doubtless have enough to do." For a moment

* Passport, receipt, or other official document.

† Royal decree, permit, or passport.

his countenance betrayed surprise; but his features soon recovered their wonted state of rigid apathy. He remarked that the people would be very glad of my services, and that he would insure me a good reception wherever I went; but that although there was always a great deal of fever and other bad complaints, they had seen very little of the true plague in Egypt, during the last six or seven years. He promised, and afterwards sent me, letters of introduction to Habbeb Effendi, the Pascha's Prime Minister, and Monsieur Walmas, his chief interpreter at Cairo, various persons about the arsenal, the dock yard, &c.; and offered to introduce me to Ibrahim, who was then with the fleet, and likewise to Mohammed Ali, if he came to Alexandria as was expected. He also gave me instructions about the new palace, which I had no difficulty in inspecting.

This man is descended from an ancient Armenian family. He has been a long time in the Viceroy's service. His duty is strictly to attend to all commercial affairs, presentations, and the like; he distributes the Pascha's orders, and is, in fact, the obsequious instrument of his authority and caprice. Of course he possesses his confidence. But to show

"How poor indeed is he
Who builds on princes' favours"—

it is related (and the account is to be depended on), that some years ago, having given offence, in consequence of the failure of a scheme which perhaps he had recommended before it was sufficiently matured, the Pascha in a paroxysm of rage,

"Heaped curses on his head,"

and condemned friend Boghos, to a cold bath at midnight. But the manner of the bath was not exactly suited to his taste; and only being a Mussulmaun *by*

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profession, he would rather have performed his ablutions in his own way, and at a more convenient season. He began to entertain serious thoughts of recanting; for he did not at all relish the idea of bathing in sackcloth by moonlight, beneath the Pharos rocks. It was allowed by all to be a dangerous place, and many had taken "a dip" there, and not returned. "What!" said he, "is this my reward for past services? Is it come to this?" But he was interrupted, and reminded that the executioner was waiting to conduct him to the rocks! And, sure enough, there he was, sack in hand: and we are informed that our friend the minister was actually put into it, and would have been cast into the sea, but for the timely interference of an individual whom Boghos had formerly assisted, and who being now invested with authority, had it in his power to show his gratitude, by saving his benefactor's life at the risk of his own.* It was duly reported to the Pascha that Boghos was no more; and His Highness was led to believe that his orders had been implicitly obeyed. Time passed on; Boghos kept out of the way; and although circumstances often recalled him to the Pascha's mind, (for he had been in the habit of consulting him on a great variety of matters), some months elapsed before he was seriously missed by him. Boghos had been a very useful sort of person in his vocation, and things did not work *quite so well* without him. Sometimes, when put to any great inconvenience, the Pascha would exclaim, "If Boghos had been here now, this would not have happened!"—and then he would pace the room, and

* It is asserted, that the person here alluded to, is M. Walmas, who secreted Boghos in his house, until the danger was over: but the man who was to have executed the Pascha's will, disappeared from that moment, and has never been heard of since. It is not known whether he suffered for his disobedience, or whether he absconded.

knit his brow, and utter imprecations against those who had put his hasty decree in execution; though it was more the inconvenience that he felt at Boghos' death than all the "love he bore him," which called forth these "sad expressions of his grief." At last a circumstance occurred which caused him to lament his death exceedingly; and in all the violence of humour, he used such strong language, that those who had been instrumental in the minister's reputed death, began to dread the consequences, lest they might one day suffer in the same way. It was evident the Pascha regretted what he had done, and perhaps he thought with King John, that though

> "He had had good cause
> To wish him dead, that they had none to kill him:"

and had not they perhaps just then been by,

> "This murder had not come into his mind!"
> How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds,
> Makes deeds ill done!"
>
> "It is the curse of kings, to be attended
> By slaves, that take their humours for a warrant
> To break within the bloody house of life:
> And, on the winking of authority,
> To understand a law; to know the meaning
> Of dangerous majesty, when, perchance, it frowns
> More upon humour than advis'd respect."
>
> *King John, Act IV. Scene 2.*

Thus then it was with Mohammed Ali; he felt the meaning of these words though he never heard them, and in temperate accents he opened his mind to one who was now in his favor, and who had been privy to Boghos's rescue. Thus we might fancy him to say, and with great sincerity,

> "Hadst thou but dared to shake thy head, or pause,
> When I spake darkly what I purposed;
> Or turn'd an eye of doubt upon my face!"
> I had repented, ere it was too late,
> And so preserved a faithful minister.
> But thou didst understand me by my signs,

And let thy rude hand act the bloody deed
Which I so much regret and would recall!
Out of my sight, and never see me more!"

Whether it was the dread of the Pascha's displeasure, or the loss of the rank and office which he himself then held,—the favorite, both for his own sake and that of his friend, (yet dreading the issue of so doubtful an experiment,) was anxious to do something to appease His Highness' anger; and thus with great craftiness, and caution, he ventured to insinuate that it was not *impossible* that Boghos *might* have escaped, and that if permitted, he would examine all those to whom the execution of the deed had been intrusted: that he himself had certainly seen him in the sack, but that all things were possible to "Allah!"

The experiment succeeded; the Pascha was softened, and the favorite went on. He had a difficult game to play, but then he had well considered the disposition of his master; he knew that ambition was his predominant passion, and that where his interest was concerned, he sacrificed "all feeling else." Besides, he was not *wantonly* barbarous; and though a tyrant, and reckless of human life when he had any great object to accomplish, he was not, like the Schah* of Persia, *cruel for cruelty's sake.* Moreover, he set some value on his own services; and daring to presume upon the present pliable condition of the Pascha's mind, and the emergency of the occasion, (the talents of Boghos being particularly missed at that time,) he ventured to hint that he was not altogether without his

* Nadir,—who exultingly turned over the eyes of his numerous prisoners with the handle of his riding whip, as they lay in a dish before him, and added those of one of his officers (who, thinking to please, had suggested the idea of taking the eyes of the captive prince) to make up the number required, coolly remarking, "No! but yours will do as well!"—Or of the despot who, at a banquet, after he had taken wine, wantonly shot a slave through the heart to prove to his guest that his hand was steady!

suspicions from circumstances that had been *vaguely* reported to him, that Boghos had, by some unaccountable means or other, contrived to escape; that in fact, a sack had been thrown up by the sea and left upon the rocks; that upon examination, it was found to contain the body of a man, though not of the Minister; but that as this was only a *mere report*, and as he had not been able to ascertain from what source it came, or whether any such circumstance had really transpired, he did not deem it necessary to lay the matter before His Highness, until such time as he had been able to learn more concerning it; in order that the contrivers of such a deep-laid, artful plot might be apprehended, and punished, as all should be, who presume to set at nought and despise His Highness's commands!

In this strain he proceeded, feeling his way as he went, and as long as he considered himself justified in speaking boldly, he pleaded Boghos' cause; until at last he heard the Pascha declare that if the ci-devant Minister could be found he should be re-instated and freely forgiven. The wily favorite said that no pains should be spared to seek him out; and after as long a pause as was deemed expedient, the hiding place of his friend was vacated for the Divan, where he was allowed to repose unmolested, and the errors of the past were forgotten.

On my return home, I found Bradford closeted with one whose appearance was any thing but prepossessing. He was fifty years of age, shabbily dressed in black: his linen not over clean, his hair uncombed; the perspiration was running down his cheeks, and he had a beard three days old. His address was equally unfavorable: having a peculiar hesitating accent and absence of manner which could not be mistaken. The

tout ensemble was such, that when he came into the room, Bradford continued his writing, and did not even ask him to sit down. As his visit was to me, he told him very unceremoniously that I should be in soon, if he chose to wait! On which he became very fidgety, walked about the room, muttering to himself and wiping his forehead. A ridiculous scene ensued, and he had but just divulged his name, when I arrived. Bradford, all abashed, was apologizing for his conduct, and trying to do the agreeable. On entering, I partly caught these words—"I will be very glad if Dr. Yates comes quickly here: my dear wife and my friend are both very bad in my house:"—then seeing me, he added—"Oh! Sir, I much rejoice you are come: dear Lady Georgiana wishes very particularly to see you!" I wondered who my extraordinary visitor could be, and, equally at a loss to guess what Lady Georgiana it was that desired my acquaintance; I looked first at the speaker and then at my friend for an explanation. The name was enough. The character of Mr. Joseph Wolff, the Missionary, was too well known not to command respect. I knew him to be a very eccentric person, and a great enthusiast: but nevertheless a well meaning and learned man. I was forthwith conducted to the grand "Okellah," and presented to Lady Georgiana Walpole, or rather Wolff, who was ill. I was next introduced to the friend of whom mention had been made, a Doctor B——,by birth a Pole, also a Protestant missionary; and like Mr. Wolff, a great linguist, and a very singular but worthy individual. Poor fellow! he was lying in a most precarious state; and his appearance was truly remarkable. He had a very long, light, bushy beard; his face looked pale, his cheeks hollow, his eyes dim and glassy, and sunk in his head; and the edges of the lids red.

His lips were parched, his tongue was brown and hard, and his complexion pasty and dull. The fever had evidently made considerable progress, and his constitution was beginning to give way. Nevertheless I found the bed covered with Arabic books, and he was disputing with both Copts and Egyptians, on subjects connected with religion. He was highly excited in consequence; but did not seem to be at all sensible that he was adding fuel to the fire that was inwardly consuming him. Mr. Wolff, than whom a more humane man does not exist, perceiving his condition, sought me out, contrary to his wish or consent. As soon as the room was cleared of the "kind friends" who in their zeal for religion, regarded not the wasted form before them, the sick man gazing vacantly at me, gave me to understand that he had "no faith in medicine"—but his measured, tremulous accents told that he was not in a state to form an opinion upon any subject. He was one of those who entertained very peculiar notions: he had been a most indefatigable student, and was extremely ardent in whatever he undertook. This was a point, however, which I was not at all disposed to discuss just then; and believing that the most persuasive argument I could use would be, to get him well, I appeared to humour him a little, remarking that unfortunately physicians were not always able to cure their patients, but that it was surely some satisfaction to them to find that they could assuage thirst, relieve pain, or produce sleep. I reminded him that a variety of drugs were wisely sent for our use; and that upon the same principle as a dog, when ill, would abstain from food, and eat grass, so ought we to exercise our reason in the application of those medicines which a kind Providence has placed at our disposal. His resolution at first

seemed shaken; but he did not approve of the remedies I proposed to employ, so I could not overcome his prejudices. He said he was exhausted, and wished me to try some other plan. As I could not conscientiously do this, I very reluctantly left him.

The next morning, Mr. Wolff came to me in haste, to say that he was worse, and begged me to visit him again. In hot climates it will not do to trifle with disease,—promptness and firmness are absolutely necessary; therefore I did not yield to the patient's entreaties to *try something else*. However, I again went to see him. In spite of all I had said, I found the bed still covered with books, and the room full of people, who, according to the custom of the country, had come to cheer the sick man's spirits. He was now alarmed, and evidently worse; what I had predicted had come to pass, and he began to wish that he had taken my advice. "If I could cure you by talismanic means," said I, "as the Arabs pretend, I would do so. You are a learned man; but you are too much excited by disease and *talking* to exercise your judgment, and your memory is affected, or you would not need to be reminded of the Arab proverb, which says, 'The chamber of the sick is the physician's kingdom.' Again, 'A king should be the father of his people, and whoso trusteth in him will he not deceive.' As then a good man chasteneth his son whom he loveth, so left I you to your own reflections; for you rebelled against me yesterday, and refused to hearken unto my words. I hope you are satisfied, since you will only learn by experience. Listen now to what the Persians say:—'The drugs of the physician may sometimes give more pain than the disease they are meant to cure; but it is a wholesome pain, and tends to health and comfort.'" Remember too,

that "healing cometh of the Most High, who hath given men skill that He might be honoured in his marvellous works." Do not then refuse the proffered blessing. "Behold!" says the preacher, "the Lord hath created medicines out of the earth, and he that is wise will not abhor them. Then give place to the physician: for the Lord hath created him:—let him not go from thee, for thou hast need of him. There *is* a time, when in their hands there is good success:—for they shall also pray unto the Lord that he would prosper that which they give for ease and remedy to prolong life!"* He was completely humbled, and promised that if I would come and see him, he would submit to anything I pleased. Fortunately, it was not too late to follow out the plan I at first proposed, and he recovered.

A few months afterwards, I was talking with an individual in a crowded bazaar; some one touched me on the shoulder. Turning suddenly round, I was accosted by a venerable-looking person with a huge folio volume under his arm. He gazed at me for some moments without speaking. At length, "*Have you then for-got-ten your un-ruly patient?*" said he, pausing between each word in his own peculiar way. His accents could not be mistaken: they were indeed the same; but so altered was he who uttered them, that although I now recognized the long, light, flowing beard, and the light grey eye, I could hardly persuade myself that in the patriarchal, active form before me, I beheld the emaciated, dull, and ghastly frame of him to whose aid I had been called only a few short months ago. He shook me impressively by the hand, and thanked me that I did not give way to his vagaries, adding, "*I per-ceive, sir, that a little learn-ing is a*

* Vide Ecclesiasticus, chap. xxxiii. verses 1—16.

dan-ger-ous thing!" So saying, he left me. He is now in England, in the enjoyment of good health.

In speaking of these matters, I cannot withhold my gratitude from those who, in whatever part of the world I happened to be, were ready to co-operate with me in attendance on the sick; those of the other sex especially, who, so far from shrinking from the office, and retiring in disgust or fear, evinced a degree of fortitude and presence of mind that was truly astonishing, and I need hardly say how eminently their sympathy and friendly attentions contributed to the consolation and ultimate recovery of the parties in whom they felt interested.

What is called the New Port of Alexandria is little else than an open bay. It is very much exposed to the north winds, and the riding for ships is very bad. There are about six or eight fathoms water; but there is seldom anything to be seen there beyond an Arab d'germ or ma'as, which varies from about 15 to 50 and 100 tons. It is formed chiefly by a long narrow point of land which stretches into the sea, and is terminated by the square castle of the Pharos, with its light-tower at the end of a long mole, built of stone and on arches. The light is very insignificant, and not well attended to,—very different from that which was so famous in the days of the Ptolemies, and which has given a name to those in other parts even in modern times. Thus we still talk of the Pharos or Faro of Messina. But the famous tower of the Pharos at Alexandria was built of white marble; it had several stories, and we read that it could be seen 100 miles at sea. It was also adorned with columns, balustrades, and galleries, and was considered one of the wonders of the world. It is said to have cost 800 talents building, that is, about 165,000*l.*

Old Hamed conducted us to see the Catacombs of the old city, which are very extensive, and situated about a mile to the westward. They are quite in a ruinous state, and have been stripped of all their ornaments. Some parts of them have at times afforded shelter to certain of the inhabitants; but generally speaking, no use is made of them; the proper entrance is unknown, and there are myriads of bats, and plenty of dogs and jackals. They are likewise over-run with enormous rats, not unlike kangaroos. These excavations are of a calcareous nature, and they are believed to have been made originally for the sake of the stone, though afterwards applied to the purposes of the dead. There are many similar tombs of minor consideration along the shore to the westward.

I looked in vain for any thing that could be imagined as the site of the ancient library: there are ruins enough, but none that bear any traces that the fancy could refer to such an origin. Wherever we went, the ground had the same hollow sound, and was strewed with broken shafts and scraps of Roman pottery. It is curious, that although the Egyptians were formerly celebrated for their potteries, and among all the ruins in Egypt we see heaps of excellent bricks, the art of brick-making seems to have been *almost* forgotten, and the Bristol brought out several thousand bricks from England, and two bricklayers to instruct others. We wound our way between mounds of rubbish, and at length emerged into what may be considered one of the principal streets of the old town, and which may one day again become important. Pliny tells us, that from the gate of the sea ran one broad magnificent street, the whole length of the city, to what was called the Canopic Gate,* commanding a

* The original situation of the Canopic Gate I believe to be now marked by a mass of sand and rubbish, through which a road has been cut about a quar-

view at each end, of the shipping, either in the Mediterranean or in the Mareotic Lake; and that this street was crossed by another of equal length, at right angles. We learn also that the city extended along the southern shores of the Lake Mareotis. We kept along what is now the principal and widest track, and pursuing an easterly course, arrived at the Rosetta gate, after passing a variety of indistinct masses of ruins, among which were either to be seen a group of half famished dogs and jackals, or else a number of dirty, naked children, some even eight and nine years of age, running about or basking in the sun. The women were sitting in detached parties among the sand, in small enclosed spaces, near to a portion of excavated ruin, the remains of a reservoir, or else a hut, which had been constructed by their lords and masters, partly of straw, and partly of the rubbish. Their faces were half obscured by a black mask, rather than a veil, suspended from the centre of the forehead, by a tape or cord over the nose, and thus concealing the lower part of the face; they wore nothing but a simple blue chemise of coarse cotton, loose, and open nearly to the waist. Such were the inhabitants of these frail tenements:—they seemed to have nothing to do, but thus to sit about in groups, their infants hanging at the breast, and to prepare their scanty meal upon a still more scanty fire made of dried camel's dung upon the earth, and fanned by the breath:—their food seldom amounting to more than a few lentils, and now and then a little rice and some dates. Their bread consists commonly of rough bean or oaten flour, made into a

ter of a mile beyond the Rosetta Gate, at the very extremity of the ruins, and just before we enter upon the Desert, or Plains of Aboukir; a range of sand hills being on the right (occupied by the French at the battle of Alexandria); Lake Mareotis being in the distance, and the sea and Cæsar's Palace on the left.

paste with water and a little salt, and perhaps mixed with white sour Arab cheese, and kneaded into cakes and burnt unfermented upon the ashes. Sometimes they contrive to procure a few black olives, a little honey, some gourd, or a pastek (water melon). The flies by day swarm beyond all conception; and it was no uncommon thing to see a little child rolling in the dirt, literally covered with them, attracted by the filthy accumulations of its body—habit seemed to have diminished the sensibility of the skin, and to all appearance, *I* was more annoyed as a *beholder* than *they* as the *actors* in the scene. I have seen them both sleeping and waking, a complete black rim or ridge of flies pointing out the form and situation of the eyes and nostrils; they find it quite useless to drive the flies away, for they instantly settle again to fatten on the exuberance of neglected infancy:—presenting, I think, one of the most disgusting but extraordinary sights that could be witnessed; and this is really not an exaggerated account—I could go on, and tell more, but I think this will suffice for once.

We passed the Rosetta Gate without impediment. Numerous additions have been made to the stone walls and out-works formerly repaired and fortified by the French. They inclose a very considerable space, which is still unoccupied by buildings. We continued in the same direction, and after a little, began to ascend, having before us, the supposed site of the Canopic gate, and on our right, the range of sand-hills, said to have been the position occupied by the French, (in force about 6000,) under General Menou, on the 13th of March, 1801, at the early part of the famous battle of Alexandria, which was marked by the death of our illustrious countryman, Abercrombie. From these hills we had a most extensive view of the whole district.—

Around us were heaps of sand and a crude mass of ruins, or rubbish rather than ruins, for we are apt to associate with the idea of ruins something like decayed buildings; but here there did not seem to be one stone left upon another. Further off, we had, first the modern walls and gates which we had just passed; then a few detached houses, the residence of the Franks, and in the distance, a mere confused mass of buildings constituting the present town of Alexandria, from which arose the only few remains, of its ancient magnificence, towering above the whole, viz. Pompey's Pillar, and one of the obelisques:—yet more remote, we beheld the sandy castellated point of the Pharos stretching into the sea; and the ships, the only signs of civilization and prosperity, riding in the harbour. In the opposite direction, nothing was to be seen but the salt Lake Mareotis terminated by its dyke, and the ever memorable bay of Aboukir, on the one side; and the parched and sandy plains of the desert which were lost upon the horizon, on the other. At no great distance in the direction of the bay, were a clump of palm-trees and some signs of vegetation; here and there scattered upon the plain between us and the shore, we could trace sundry irregularities, the remains of former buildings, but nothing distinctively, and they afforded poor indications of the towns which are said to have existed on the spot. Descending, we turned off to the left, but looked in vain for the famous Gymnasium, or the costly palaces of a city which once distributed her treasures to the whole world.

We returned home by the Canal of Cleopatra or Mahmoudieh, opened by Mohammed Ali, in 1819. If the Pascha had reason to glory at its completion, thousands had reason to lament that the work was ever undertaken. It was done at the instigation of Mr.

Samuel Briggs, a merchant of Alexandria, who, by inducing Mohammed Ali to establish a communication between this city and the Nile, not only enabled the Arabs to avoid the dangerous passage of the "Bogaz" of Rosetta, but also to proceed with their cargo without loss of time, which was often of the greatest consequence; whereas, formerly, the ships were liable to be detained on account of the cotton many months. As to the advantages to be derived from this plan there could not be two opinions: but when Mr. Briggs, in his zeal for the Pascha's interest, and that of the merchants generally, recommended a scheme so obviously useful, he never for a moment contemplated that its adoption would be attended with such disastrous consequences, nor could he suppose that Mohammed Ali would set about it in such an inconsistent and barbarous manner. But this, which is spoken of as one of the Pascha's *grand doings*, serves to illustrate the character of the man.

"Things once resolved by him, are half performed."

His ears are open to every new suggestion, and it must be acted upon immediately. Then we are told that the country prospers, and that

"The king effects more wonders than a man!"

But do the persons who say this reflect, or consider the means by which he works? I am afraid not: or they would see that the Pascha has so many speculations afloat at the *same time*, that it is impossible his resources can keep pace with his necessities, and that in order to gratify his wishes, he compels the people to work without pay. His Herod-like conduct, on this occasion, corresponded with his other desperate acts. It was by such that he placed himself on the throne of Egypt; and by such he has been attempting to put

himself in a condition to cope with Europeans. He has thought only of his own aggrandizement, and waded through blood to power. A Turkish education has taught him that he exists only as long as he can hold a tight rein and a rod of iron. He knows that he is hated as well as feared, and imagines that there is but one course for him to pursue:—since

"Crowns got by blood must be by blood maintained!"

When, therefore, he has any project in view, it is not a trifle that will thwart him in its execution. Justice and mercy are unknown to him: of course, he cares nothing about his people's love. "That the labourer is worthy of his hire," is no concern of his; so that the Egyptians have indeed "a hard master."

The sorrows of the Israelites during the period of their bondage under the Pharaohs, were never greater than those which the present race of Egyptians experience under the tyrant Ali.

That the Pascha is a man of extraordinary talent, there can be no doubt: and it is much to be regretted that he should adopt such a desperate line of policy. But out of evil sometimes proceeds good:—let us hope that such may be the case with regard to this man. It required a despotic character to break down the barrier which existed to the progress of civilization in the East. Mohammed Ali, by setting at nought some of the established usages of his country, and by adopting the customs of Europeans, has effected this most desirable end, and many of his undertakings will benefit future generations; though he has unfortunately attempted to do in *a day* what should be the work of *years*, and he has not hesitated to employ the most unjustifiable means—such only as a despot could devise. It will be said that I use strong language:—but I have promised

to speak without reserve, and to treat of the moral as well as the political condition of the country. While, therefore, we endeavour to bear with the infirmities of others, it is our duty, as Christians, to testify on all suitable occasions, our abhorrence of evil, lest any of us be hardened by pernicious example, and the deceitfulness of sin. Let us then look to *facts*, and before we sanction the Pascha's conduct, or extol him for the innovations which he has made, consider whether he has the good of his people at heart, in any respect, or whether he is striving to gratify a restless and insatiable thirst for power. We ought to contemplate the actual condition of his subjects, and ask ourselves, how far it has improved under his yoke? If he dispenses justice and mercy, then will the face of Egypt rejoice, and Mohammed Ali will deserve all the praise which some have lavished upon him. But if it be found that he merely builds ships, and fortifications, and employs the best energies of his mind to work out his own ambitious schemes, at the sacrifice of the happiness of his people, we, who have had the advantage of an education, and experienced the blessings of civilized life, ought not to shut our eyes to truth, and look on in senseless apathy, contenting ourselves with the reflection that he is "a Turk," and because he is "a Turk," turn away with a shrug, as if we were indifferent spectators of what we cannot conscientiously approve. I am satisfied that no man can do otherwise than pity the present race of Egyptians.

If the Pascha was bred in ignorance and superstition, he has had time and opportunity enough to learn what is right. He is very shrewd, and has mixed with Europeans: he is no longer the raw inexperienced adventurer; and I do not think we should attempt to

excuse his conduct on the plea that he has fought his way through the world, a continual eye-witness of bloodshed and rapine, accustomed from the cradle to acts of despotism! He is himself *too* enlightened now, whatever he may have been, not to be sensible of the wretched condition of his people; but he wants to establish his independence before he dies, and cares not at how great a price it be purchased. Let the Pascha's actions tell their own story. His destruction of the Mamlûks was enough to stamp him in the estimation of all good men.* But his behaviour in regard to the opening of the canal of Mahmoudieh was, if possible, more barbarous, and altogether without excuse:—he could not even plead self-defence, as he did, and others did for him, in the former case, (his seat upon the throne as Viceroy, being insecure as long as a shadow of the Mamlûk power remained); but the unmeaning, reckless, and deliberate tyranny exercised towards the poor Arabs, who, if treated with kindness may be moulded, I am sure, to any thing, cannot but awaken feelings of repugnance. It makes one's very blood chill to think of it, and it is not easy to understand how he could be so lavish of his subjects' lives, when he had great designs in contemplation, and required to husband his resources in every possible manner.

The canal itself is forty-eight miles in length. It extends from the harbour of Alexandria to Atfieh, near the town of Fouah, on the Nile; and was, when completed, ninety feet in breadth, and from fifteen to eighteen feet deep. However, that I may not be suspected of prejudice, I will describe this transaction in the words of the Quarterly Review, a work of too much respectability and credit to be mistrusted. "All the labouring

* Vide Chapter XIV.

classes of Lower Egypt were put in requisition, and a month's pay advanced them to provide biscuit and provisions. To each village and district was marked out the work allotted to it. The Arabs were marched down in thousands and tens of thousands, under their respective chiefs: the number employed at one time, actually exceeded 250,000 men! In about *six weeks*, the whole excavation was completed, and the people returned home to their respective occupations; but, in the autumn, a few thousands were called upon to face part with masonry, and make the whole navigable for ships of considerable burden. It was opened with great pomp on the seventh of December 1819."*

Now, if these individuals had been *properly* paid, and *properly* fed, and allowed sufficient time to complete the work, so far from there being any injustice in the act, the poor would have had reason to rejoice:—but no sooner had the Pascha made up his mind to open the canal, than he resolved that it should be done *at once*. Mr. Briggs was unfortunately in England at the time, or he would have perhaps had sufficient influence to have deterred him from such an act of impatience:—however, the Pascha being left to himself, he spoke the word, and the decree went forth throughout the land. The canal was completed at the time appointed:—but all the waters that have since flowed through it are insufficient to wash away the stain which this ferocious deed has left upon the Pascha's character. As, in the time of Pharaoh, the Israelites were compelled like slaves to furnish of themselves the straw to make the bricks, and were goaded in their work, broken-hearted and feeble,—so in the time of Mohammed Ali, were the wretched, ill-fated Arabs compelled to

* Vol. xxx. p. 502.

labour, dejected and faint, under the iron rod of their oppressor, whose minions stood by and saw his will enforced. Leaving their families at home to starve, they were driven down hither without regard to circumstances; and actually obliged to scratch up the loosened soil with their *hands*, and convey it away in baskets. They were not allowed sufficient repose to repair their wasted strength: the *pay* alluded to, was fifteen parahs* and a piece of black bread, consisting of bean flour and mouldy wheat, per diem—which was barely sufficient to support life at any other time, much less when condemned to labour under circumstances like these; and 30,000 *of them died!* Even if they had been amply remunerated—being paid "a month in advance that they might buy food"—having to shift for themselves, how were the wants of so many to be supplied daily?—and for each man to lay up a month's store, so that he could safely have access to it, as occasion required, was out of the question! Still, with the knowledge of such facts, their labours were continued without intermission, although many were known to be in a state of exhaustion: and at last, as no suitable provision, either of food or any thing else, was made for the sick and feeble—hundreds died and were buried every day. Nevertheless, when the murderous work was completed, the canal, we are told, was opened "*with great pomp and rejoicings!*" But this is nothing new, now; others have told the same story: the fact is notorious: and yet this man is cried up, and we are informed that he is "so enlightened!" and that "he is doing so much for the people!" So far is this from being the case, that by such means as the above, as will appear in the course of this narrative, the Pascha

* About three half-pence.

has most effectually laid the country waste, and so completely thinned the population, that in 1833, and even up to the present time,—what with having seized all that were capable of bearing arms, to make soldiers and sailors of them,*—what with the natural diminution of fecundity, arising from the degenerate state to which the people have been reduced by persecution and grief, or on the other hand, by the influence of natural abuses,—added to the effects of disease and want—(I have it from pretty good authority) it was only by the greatest exertion, that a sufficient number of hands could be raised to bring down the cotton, and to gather in the grain, two of the staple commodities of the country.†

The revenues of Alexandria, in the time of the Ptolemies, according to the records in our possession, amounted to as much as 12,500 talents, which at the rate of 193*l.* 15*s.* the talent, brings it to about two millions and a half sterling. In the time of Browne (1798) the revenue was thought "not to exceed

* The following will serve as a specimen. The Kiasheff of Sohl (a small village a little to the south of Atfieh, on the Nile,) assured Mr. St. John, that the greater part of the youth had been taken away from that village for the Pascha's army, and that in a town opposite, there remained at least twelve women to one man, and that the year before, the cultivation of the sugar-cane in that neighbourhood, had actually been abandoned for lack of hands. Egypt and Mohammed Ali, vol. i. p. 206. See also the Author, Chapter X.

† In 1836, 7, and 8, the scarcity increased to an extent amounting to famine. No corn was to be seen in the markets, though there was abundance in Upper Egypt. This was entirely a government scheme, that a quantity of damaged grain might be disposed of. An attempt was made also to introduce Russian butter, but, as a correspondent remarked, "it required all the destructive talents of Mohammed Ali and his worthy counsellor to bring about such a phenomenon. At this rate it would soon have been necessary to procure other articles from foreign countries: for Egypt is so *depopulated* that it cannot be cultivated. In order to till the ground, the government *now* seizes the Arab servants of the Europeans, and has them dragged to the tillage *bound together two by two*, like galley-slaves!" Mohammed Ali does not seem to be aware that the real riches of Egypt consist in its agricultural produce!

225,000*l.*" The Mamlûks drew from Egypt about a million and a half sterling. During the time that the French were in possession of the country, it varied very much, as might be expected. General Reynier estimates it at from twenty to twenty-five millions of francs. (from 833,333*l.* to 1,041,666*l.*) The Pascha's revenue in 1821 was estimated at not less than 2,250,000*l.*—of this the "Miri," or land tax, yielded one half. The disbursements in the same year were computed to be 1,757,840*l.*, one half of which arose from the army expenditure; and the remittances to Constantinople amounted to 12,000 purses, about 5 per cent. on the revenue. The Pilgrimage to Mecca costs about 14,000*l.*; and nearly 200,000*l*, are expended annually, on the Pascha's own household.* The revenue has been going on gradually increasing ever since 1821, notwithstanding that his export trade has somewhat diminished, and that his political schemes have latterly caused him to neglect the culture of both grain and cotton.

Mohammed Ali, a short time before his expulsion from Syria, gave up the monopoly of silk; and it now pays an ad-valorem duty of 25 per cent. We are pretty well assured of the system of extortion that has hitherto been adopted; and the relative state of the cotton and other markets is generally within our reach. In the summer of 1840, the Pascha is known to have gained 1,400,000 talaris, a sum equal to 280,000*l.* *profit* by the sale of his cotton alone: for he can regulate the price nearly as he pleases; and on one occasion, he

* During the whole of the Syrian campaign, the Arabs of the Desert suffered much from their intercourse with the large towns being cut off; and also from the unsettled state of the country. They therefore levied twenty dollars on each camel of the great caravan, instead of the usual "kafahr" of two dollars from the caravan from Bagdad to Damascus, which consisted of 3000 camels.

offended the resident European merchants by attempting to levy an exorbitant export duty on this the leading article of Egyptian commerce; by which short-sighted policy, he would by degrees have got the whole trade if possible, into his own hands. Lately, very excellent coal and iron have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Beyrout and Seyde, by Mr. Brettell, an English engineer, from which twelve tons of the former were obtained daily. In 1839 Mohammed Ali went himself to inspect the gold mines of "Fazoglou" on the "Bahr el Abiard" or White River, which are said to be very rich, and were being worked with decided advantage. He sent several regiments to protect the mines from the incursions of the natives, and put a stop to the slave trade, and the hunting down of the negroes, (hitherto encouraged by him) in the hope that they would repair in crowds to work in the mines! The revenue for 1839 was calculated to be 462,841 purses, 447 piastres—reckoning twenty-five talaris to the purse. The chief sources of this revenue were,—the territorial rights which produced 326,000 purses: the poll-tax, which gave 4,747 on the inhabitants of Cairo: and 55,252 on those of the provinces: the tax on trades and occupations amounted to 20,000: and the duties on importing provisions into Cairo amounted to 11,500.

In 1840, the revenue in Egypt amounted to between 12,000,000 and 14,000,000 of talaris. There were 200,000 ardebs of corn in the warehouses, and 30,000 quintals of cotton of the best growth were reported ready for shipping. The harvest of barley and wheat commenced as early as the first week in April under favourable auspices in Upper Egypt: and the rice harvest was also unusually abundant. About 100,000

ardebs were already undergoing the process of winnowing, and would soon be ready for sale.

In addition to this revenue, the Pascha received the profits of his monopolies. When, however, we consider his political exploits, the building of ships and fortifications, the raising of troops and seamen, and the expenses of the war and its contingencies—even at a very rough estimate,—and when we call to mind that he is always in *arrears* with his troops and employés, and that the orders which he sends to Europe are always executed with caution,—there cannot require a question as to the fact of his expenditure far exceeding his receipts, and that he is only able to meet this by levying still further contributions on the people, and by the most unbounded and shameless monopolies.* The "Shoonah" or large granaries of Alexandria, afford a specimen of this: they are some of the most extensive in the world;—(one of them is supported by not less than 450 columns;) they are generally well stocked, and the corn has sometimes been stored up in them during seasons of real or pretended scarcity (as the wants of the Pascha shall determine) when the people have been all but in a starving state. Barley has then, as now, been mixed with the wheat, and even beans, before any was allowed to be sold to the people, and only then when the necessity became urgent.

The customs of Alexandria were for many years, farmed by the Jews, who sometimes suffered much, and occasionally made large profits. They then for a

* The account laid before Mohammed Ali up to the 3rd of September, 1839, (the first day of the Mohammedan year) showed that he was indebted to his army to the amount of 10,000 talaris, while his property in articles of commerce was 250,000 talaris short of that amount:—a deficit which is esteemed as a mere nothing considering the extent of his resources. In the spring of 1840, he owed the Porte two years' tribute, viz. 1,600,000 talaris!

limited period, fell into the hands of the Syrians, who came chiefly from Damascus, and likewise of Christians. But many disputes arising, the governors took care to avail themselves of the opportunity to apply them to their own advantage: and at length, Murad Bey who was at the head, imagining it would be a source of profit, turned collector himself. It has been stated that there are in Egypt two millions one hundred thousand acres of cultivable land; but it is almost impossible to make any calculation of the resources of the country, even if this be true; for a good deal is allowed to lie waste, and there is no sort of encouragement for labour.

The late Receiver-general of the taxes (the Defterdar Bey) not only indulged in every species of tyranny and extortion, but gloried in the most revolting crimes and wanton excesses. The office is generally held by a Turk, and he is appointed by the Sultan. He is not supposed to be answerable to Mohammed Ali for his conduct, and *ought* to deliver up a portion only of what he collects, to *him*,—the rest to his master. His powers and opportunities are therefore very great. This man was outwitted by the Viceroy at last, who laid a net for him, which effectually secured and entangled him. He pretended not to notice his avaricious schemes: he allowed him to wallow in luxury, and to gorge himself at the expense of all the other authorities, well knowing, that the more they were taxed, the more they would tax others. He made him presents, and pretended to be his friend. He even gave him his daughter in marriage. The Bey was completely deceived, took his ease, and gave loose to the grossest sensuality. The moment had not yet arrived for the completion of the Pascha's views; but he was only "biding his time!"

He watched him with an eagle's eye; and at length, when he had sufficiently fattened upon his unhappy victims, he became the easy prey of him who only waited the course of events to profit by his enormities. Suddenly! the Defterdar died! Immediately, the Pascha, in virtue of his *daughter's* right, claimed the whole of his immense wealth. He recovered all his presents, took possession of his jewels, his stores, and twenty millions sterling! Every one rejoiced at his death. Some idea may be formed of his atrocities by the following facts:—When certain men, who had deserted, were again captured, he had them brought into the court-yard of his palace; then closing the gates, he made them fight for his amusement, promising, that he who was the last to survive, should have a free pardon. When, however, the looked-for crisis arrived, one only survivor remaining, he gave an exulting look of bloody satisfaction to an executioner; and before the poor Arab had time to breathe, his trunkless carcase writhed at the tyrant's feet. He has frequently been known to cut at his women with his scymitar, in a drunken fit, without any kind of provocation; and it was no uncommon thing to find the bodies of his slaves, both male and female, lying half devoured by the dogs, beneath his palace walls at Cairo, opposite the island of Er-Rhouddah. On one occasion, he caused a man, who had offended him, to be buried alive, up to his neck in lime, his head exposed to the burning sun, until he died. These things are awful to contemplate; but Europeans little know the cruelties that are committed by the rich and powerful in countries like these. How thankful ought we to be when we reflect that Providence has placed us in a land where justice is dispensed with an impartial hand, and where the insatiate

tiger-hearted villain is hunted from his den, whatever be his rank or denomination!

The new palace of the Pascha at the Point is a handsome building, i. e. for Alexandria. It is extensive and pleasantly situated, commanding a view of the open sea on the one side, and of the great harbour, with the shipping, on the other. The apartments are very neat, light, and tastefully arranged, painted and decorated by Greeks. The baths are good, and furnished with every convenience. We passed through the rooms devoted to the ladies of the Seraglio, which were very elegant; quite in the Oriental style, spacious, and airy. Of course their fair inmates were not there.

Mr. Barker accompanied us to the dock-yard and arsenal in due form, where we were presented to Ibrahim Pascha by Boghos Youssouf, and were most graciously received. His Highness was rather a fine looking man, about five feet six or seven inches high, well made, muscular and sturdy. He had dark grey eyes, a brown beard, and moustachios. He is now about fifty-two years of age, but the Syrian campaigns have impaired his constitution. He was dressed in a kind of European surtout, with a dark blue mantle, a species of Hungarian cooba thrown over his shoulders. On his head he wore the red "Tabousch," or Greek cap, and at his side a Mamlûk sabre. He was attended by Osman Bey, the Capoudan Pascha, and by the Governor of Alexandria. Ibrahim bears the title of Pascha of Mecca. An attempt was once made by the Porte to transfer it to another, but the individual who came to Egypt for that purpose met with an "*accident*," and did not reach Cairo at all! Ibrahim is said to be capable of great cruelties; but this I suspect, is a slander on the part of his enemies: certainly his

physiognomy did not betray ferocity of character: he could be stern, I dare say, when he liked; but I did not discover any thing forbidding in his countenance. He looked like a soldier, and might be seen to greater advantage in the field: there was a degree of awkwardness in his manner which surprised us; he seemed not to know what to do with his hands: but he behaved politely, and entered freely into conversation. He asked Mr. Bradford, through his Drogueman, "why there was no American Consul at Alexandria and Constantinople?" Mr. B. replied, "Because there was no free trade to the Black Sea, and that there was little encouragement given to the Americans in the way of business; that otherwise they would be happy to have a representative there as elsewhere—that he was himself Consul at Lyons in France," &c.* On this, further conversation arose, and Ibrahim begged we would say if he could render us any service, and gave us permission to see whatever interested us in the Arsenal. He seemed to be paying great attention to the improvement of the marine. We were informed that it required nine months to complete a line-of-battle ship. The dock-yard presented an appearance of activity and business. There were on the stocks at that time, one ship of 120 guns, a 60-gun frigate, and two others of 18 guns each. There was evidently no want of materiel, and the rope and cable departments were well worth seeing. The forests in the neighbourhood of Aleppo furnish an abundant supply of excellent timber. An immense number of hands were variously employed; but here, as in every thing else of importance relative to the government works, the French had then the ascendancy, and chief superintendence.

* A Consul has since been appointed, viz. Mr. Gliddon.

The Egyptian Navy has since been increased to about fifteen sail of the line, twelve frigates and as many brigs, besides corvettes and steamers:—in addition to which, the Pascha held for a long period several of the Sultan's vessels, which were betrayed into his hands—viz. eight ships of the line, twelve frigates, one corvette, and three brigs! When they arrived, they had 22,000 men on board, but 3,500 died of dysentery, fever, scurvy, &c. in Egypt.

We returned home with Mr. Barker to dinner, when we were introduced to Mr. George Robinson and Mr. W. Maltass, two English gentlemen, who had just landed from Smyrna, and purposed proceeding shortly to Cairo.

Alexandria was at this time very gay, the carnival having commenced; and parties were frequent among the Franks. Society here, is not generally attractive: there is often a mixture of company, and as a matter of course, plenty of gossiping; but upon the whole, a good understanding is maintained. The resources are limited, and there is but little variation in the amusements and pursuits. When Colonel Hodges was English Consul, he succeeded in getting up some races near what is termed "Cæsar's Camp." They were numerously attended, and the ladies were attired in riding habits. Madame M——y, of Marseilles, was elected Queen on the occasion, and distributed the prizes to the victors! She acquitted herself very gracefully, I am told—but the Sais Arabs who were present could not comprehend her address. There are frequently travellers passing and repassing; for the most part, officers in the Indian army, or belonging to a British or French man-of-war. Latterly, however, since the communication by steam has been facilitated,

it has become more the fashion to visit Egypt, and there is better accommodation to be obtained. Seven years ago, there was not a single steam-vessel of any denomination, between Europe and Alexandria: now, those of England, France, and Austria, comprise no fewer than eighteen.

The resident Franks are either merchants, or persons connected in some shape or other with the diplomatic agents, or the Viceroy. They divide the day in nearly the same manner as in Europe: but there is a mixture of manners according to the views of the respective nations. It is necessary to be very cautious in forming acquaintances: for the gates of Egypt having once been thrown open without discrimination, all sorts of people flocked in; and although a few highly respectable men have consented at various times, to enter the Pascha's service, the greater part are mere adventurers, ready, like other mercenaries, to take up with any body and any thing!

For a long time, Mohammed Ali continued their dupe; but by degrees his eyes were opened, and he found it necessary to be more particular. Disputes were continually occurring between them and the authorities, which the respective consuls did not always find it easy to settle. Many men were sent out of the country on account of their violent conduct; and at last it was found expedient to issue a decree upon the subject.* The irregularities and

* THE PROCLAMATION OF MOHAMMED ALI RELATIVE TO EUROPEANS:—

"1. From the 15th January, 1836, every individual coming to Egypt for the purpose of establishing himself, will be required, on his first arrival, to show that he has the means of existence, and exhibit to the local government, a guarantee from among the principal inhabitants of the country, who will be responsible for his moral conduct.

"2. Every individual already established in Egypt must, in like manner, take measures to fulfil the conditions required by the preceding article.

"3. Every captain of a vessel who shall bring as passengers, persons unable to

excesses to which it refers were not to be wondered at in a country which, at one period, afforded an asylum to all the renegades of Europe; and it was extremely galling to those of the Pascha's officers, who were men of principle and talent, to find that they were mixed up indiscriminately with a set of worthless fellows who, having obtained an appointment, expected to be regarded as gentlemen, although they indulged in every low and vicious propensity, and confessed that "they only came for the piastres!"

These men took every advantage in their power, did nothing, and were many of them, thoroughly ignorant of their profession. If, however, the Pascha was deceived in them, it is only fair to acknowledge that they also had been deceived by him; for it is notorious that he does not make good his promises: nothing that he says is to be depended on. He was wont to offer largely to Europeans to induce them to come to Egypt: he raised their expectations, but did not satisfy their demands: he would put them off from time to time, under false pretences, and was always in arrears. The same system is still pursued. Those who would serve him faithfully are not appreciated, and they soon leave him in disgust; for they are not only badly paid, but insulted by those with whom they are compelled to associate: in fact he has introduced such a medley of nations, languages, and character, that his service is any thing but agreeable. It is, moreover, the most difficult thing imaginable to get any business done, even when people *are* disposed to work: for he has so many irons in the fire, and

give the securities required, shall be obliged at his own risk and peril, to convey them back to Europe! (Signed), "MOHAMMED ALI."
"Nov. 3rd. 1835."

possesses such a prolific imagination, that whatever he hears of, he is anxious to adopt without considering how it is to be accomplished. Thus the workmen are taken away from one thing before it is half finished, and put to another. He went to an enormous expense a few years ago, about a railway, and sent for an immense quantity of iron-work from England; but when it arrived, his attention being differently directed, after a slight attempt, the undertaking was abandoned: and I believe the iron has been lying at the dock-yard ever since. He sends young men to Europe to be educated for different professions: but on their return, he sets them to do things which they have never been taught; supposing, that because they have travelled, they are fit for any employment whatever!

His conduct throughout is indeed so inconsistent, that as a clever man, it is hardly credible: he seldom finishes what he begins. Even the canal has been neglected; and it is fast filling up again. He has literally drained the resources of the country, and he is most sincerely hated by all classes. The soldiers would lay down their arms, I have no doubt, if they had an opportunity of bettering their condition. They are not soldiers by choice; they are taken from their families by force, as I shall have occasion to describe more fully by and bye.* They are treated with great cruelty; and being badly fed, badly clothed, and ill paid, it is not very likely that they would fight in his defence, especially as they have no interest in his cause. The National Guard, about which so much has been said, is a complete mockery. They are chiefly boys stolen from their families, and driven down from the interior in chains; and when there is

* See Chap. XV.

a scarcity of chains, holes are made in planks for the hands, and the planks are then nailed together. In this state they are sent on board the ships to be forwarded to Candia, there to be drilled, and it often happens that their hands are so swollen by the time they reach the coast, that they are unable to use them for weeks.

There are some very respectable families residing at Alexandria, and society is much more select there than at Cairo. How long it may continue so, is doubtful: for as the Pascha endeavours to get all the commerce into his own hands, the merchants lose their confidence, and respectable individuals have very little inducement to settle there, or trade with him. I was repeatedly invited to establish myself professionally: but nothing was further from my thoughts. There is no want of patients: but Egypt affords a miserable prospect to a medical man, however talented he may be.

The habits of the Franks assimilate very much with those of the natives: and although they do not eat with their fingers, they adopt the Oriental mode of living to a considerable extent: indeed, the climate requires it. Repose is a matter of necessity in a hot country, and the divan is in great request. Persons usually sleep for an hour or two during the heat of the day; and if they are wise, they live moderately, restricting themselves to a small quantity of animal food. Coffee and pipes are also in general use.

The Carnival is celebrated here as in Europe. Gaming is one of its chief characteristics: and there are balls, dinner parties, and masquerades. Sometimes we hear of concerts and private theatricals,

both French and Italian, and the performances are really very good.

I was introduced to Mr. Anastasi, the Swedish Consul, a Greek. He has a fine collection of antiquities, generally, I believe, for sale.

The opportunities afforded for education, are very limited, and I am sorry to say, that in Egypt, the qualifications of the mind are often neglected in consequence. There is no want of beauty among the young ladies, but they are sometimes introduced too early: and they not unfrequently marry at the age of twelve. I disturbed a gentleman one day when he was reading a letter of sixteen closely written pages, which he had just received from his wife, whom he had sent to Europe to be educated: a practice of no uncommon occurrence. He was thirty-six, the lady only twelve years of age. "The example which is set in Alexandria," said he, "is a great disadvantage to the rising generation, and those who look for domestic happiness must be doubly circumspect in the choice of a wife. Our European notions of propriety and decorum, are, I fear, more frequently ridiculed than inculcated." Accomplishments are not very much attended to either; but there are few who cannot speak French, Italian, Arabic, and Greek. Italian is the language in general use.

I had been up rather later than usual at our Locanda, and had not retired to bed many minutes, when I heard a loud knocking below, a most unusual thing at that hour. On opening the chamber door, I recognized the voice of my servant, who was hesitating whether to satisfy the enquiries that were made concerning me, and yet not daring to refuse. He was

evidently in a great fright, as if he thought I was either to be committed to jail, or—"the deep, deep sea." He was discussing this or some other knotty point with a fierce looking mustachio'd Janizary, and stood quite aghast to learn that I must "embark immediately,—that no time was to be lost!" "How? Where?" said he, no doubt thinking of his wages, and the chance he had of his head for being servant to a Christian!—"What for?—Go on board to-night!" he added—"No matter! Iva! (yes) Y Allah! Y Allah!"—"Go! tell the H'akkim to make haste! Captain Scott wants him!" and (pushing him up stairs,) they both reached my door at the same time. When the matter was explained, Mohammed's dingy countenance altered from the scared to the doleful; he became sulky; and when he heard that all this fuss was merely about "a sick woman," he gave a grunt, wondering to himself what there was to induce me to turn out at such a time, and put to sea in an open boat. As Mohammed was a fire spaniel, he recovered his composure when he heard that I could do without *him*, and in a few minutes was snoring in his cabin. I descended with the Janizary forthwith. We did not go round by the Mahmoudieh, but proceeded at once to the regular landing place, where he had left the ship's boat in which he came ashore. We soon reached the city walls, and stood before their huge and cumbrous portals. We neither approached unseen, nor unheard. The Arab Guard were, for a wonder, on the alert: (I suppose because the Janizary had recently passed,) and instantly challenged us. "Eff-'thah! Eff'thah!" exclaimed he, in a tone of authority; immediately the gates were unbarred; and the

next minute, we heard their massive bolts returned into their places, with our retiring steps.

The night was fine, though, as usual, the dew was falling fast around us, and I was very glad to be enveloped in my good old English cloak. Even the Janizary wrapped the folds of his bernous closer about his head and shoulders as he stepped into the boat. A thin cloud had obscured the moon, and the starry host of heaven were still arrayed in all their glory. There was a gentle north-westerly breeze, and the sea was calm: the town was perfectly still, and nothing interrupted the silence of night, but the occasional barking of the dogs, and the cry of the Muezzin from the minarets.

We were challenged by the watch of one or two ships as we passed, and in a few minutes more, we pulled alongside of the "Lord Goderich," where I found myself a most welcome visitor.

As Mr. Bradford was in bed and dozing, when I quitted the Locanda, and had received but an imperfect account of what had happened, he was both surprised and alarmed when he found that I did not return at noon. He sent Mohammed on board after me, and now began to feel the inconvenience of travelling with a doctor! We were engaged out to dinner, but I being still detained at sea, owing to a serious accident which had occurred in the fleet, he was obliged to go without me. I joined the company in the evening, and we arranged to go to the plains of Aboukir the following day. When the morning came, the weather was unfavorable: it was blowing a strong south-easterly gale, and so extremely sultry that we were little inclined to approach the Desert. As we deferred our excursion

to Aboukir, I proposed that we should take shelter on board the "Bristol," in order, if possible, when the whole atmosphere was loaded with sand, to inhale a mouthful of fresh air! My poor friend caught at the idea in a moment: for he had been rolling about in a state of feverish excitement after a restless night: books, papers, and furniture were covered with dust; and he vowed that, what with the dirt, the vermin, and the heat, he could get no rest by night or by day; and that if Riches would take him back to Malta, he'd go; for that he had had quite enough of Egypt!

I went the following day to the Frank Hospital to see a man who was supposed to have the plague. This building is by no means adequate to the wants of the whole population, but it is sufficient for those for whom it is intended. It holds about 100 beds; it was clean, and well arranged; but little use was then made of it, because no dependance could be placed on the individual who had the charge of it; viz. the Frenchman already alluded to. Since his time, to my knowledge, two very respectable gentlemen have resided in Alexandria, and for a period undertook the management of it. These were Monsieur de Riviere and Mr. Laidlaw, who were previously in the Pascha's service; the former at "Abou Zabel" near Cairo: the latter on board a ship of the line. Both have since retired. There is in fact no inducement for any man of principle or ability to stay. Dr. Grassi is the person who now enjoys the sun-shine of the Imperial favour. By far the greater part of those who apply at this Institution for relief are French and Maltese sailors; except when fever, cholera, or any other epidemic breaks forth, and then there are patients enough. One portion of the hospi-

tal is called the plague department: but the disease *strictly so named*, has not been seen so much as formerly. Frequently reports concerning plague, reach the ear, when other severe maladies exist, the appellation being given by the natives to a variety of diseases which are a plague or torment to them; but this is a different thing to *the* plague.* In 1813,—7,000 persons are stated to have been carried off by the plague out of a population previously estimated at 12,000.† The Arabs and Turks generally take no precautions; but the better classes now do; and the Pascha himself, although professedly a fatalist, is beginning to fall in with the European custom of quarantine. The Baroness Minutoli tells us, however, that "in 1811, notwithstanding the precautions taken by the Europeans, one-third of the Christian inhabitants were carried off." (page 253.)—What must then the proportion of the other inhabitants have been, whose invariable custom it is, to assemble round the sick and the dying? Mr. Harris, and others who have seen the plague, as well as those who have had it, are of opinion that fear invariably predisposes to it; and that it is supposed to have been contracted even by sitting on the saddle of the common hired donkeys, after a plague patient. In the same way we are told that fever has often been caught in London, in a hackney coach. In 1832-3, when the cholera was raging in Egypt, the sick were removed to tents apart from others; and a quarantine

* During the prevalence of the "Qh'ramseen" winds, in the spring of this present year (1841), the plague again appeared, together with yellow fever and other diseases. The report was as follows:—"On the 26th of April, the deaths from plague were eight; persons attacked and removed to the hospital at Alexandria, nine; other deaths, fifteen. The general mortality at Cairo, amounted to 120 per diem. But the deaths from plague there, *were few in comparison with those from fever, small-pox, cholera, &c.*"

† Light's Travels, p. 6.

was established. The ships also went into harbour as the disease appeared. It lasted about a month, destroying thirty-five and forty daily at Alexandria, and at one time, as many as 700 and 800 per diem! The deaths at Cairo, amounted to 2000 a day! The "Mufti Gehaat," a frigate having 400 men on board, lost 350, burying from twenty-five to thirty every night! Whilst these things were going on, Mohammed Ali was cruizing on board the "Bahira" frigate (60 guns). At last, he was obliged to go ashore; for the disease appeared, and they had to put six men overboard in the night. It then showed itself in the palace, and the Pascha took refuge with Boghos Youssouf, and afterwards with Moharrem Bey—in a great fright! The Europeans suffered also considerably. One English captain assured me that *he* cured several patients himself.—"I took from them," said he, "from one to three pints of blood; and I gave them at the same time, *a teaspoonful of calomel*, and *washed it down with brandy*"!!*—

The present race of Egyptians are shrewd, quick, and cunning; they have a great talent for music and languages; but their Arabic is not the purest; it is mixed up with many Turkish and Greek words. The Italian which is spoken by the Maltese and others in the Levant is quite peculiar! partaking most *infinitely* of "infinitives;"—thus, "Mi volere andare in casa." "Mi non so Signor, si potere avere lei à mangiare adesso!"

The police of Alexandria is good, but entirely military. The streets are kept in excellent order; and at night, the inhabitants are obliged by law, to take a lanthorn out with them. Every decree is absolute, and no one has a right to think for himself. The sol-

* Active practice this! But there is no doubt that some persons *did* recover under his hands, by some means or other. Vide Chap. III. and IV, Vol. II; also Appendix.

diers are often very insolent, and presume upon their authority, having recourse to petty acts of oppression; such as taking a poor boy's donkey away, without paying him for the use of it, and making the lad run after him through the town, pretending that he is on government business; and the poor fellow may think himself well off to make his escape without a good beating into the bargain. In like manner, they go to stalls, and commit all kinds of extortions with impunity, in a small way; and it is of very little use for the people to remonstrate, for they are sure to come off second best. These things therefore, and the like, contribute to sharpen the intellect, and make them artful; they induce them also to tell lies, exercise their ingenuity, and make all sorts of protestations in self-defence. The soldiers wear something like European costumes; but they are made of very coarse, thin, dingy red cloth, which you may all but see through:—the dress consists chiefly of a sort of jacket and trowsers, like a great over grown school-boy's, except that the pantaloons are full at the upper part; and a scarf is bound round the waist: they wear also the red Tunis cap, (the "tabousch,") and carry a musket, bayonet, and sabre. They make but a sorry appearance; and a great many of them are inexperienced boys of sixteen and seventeen, who have been kidnapped.

The Arabs have a very strong and natural aversion to a military life; and when they know that any recruiting is going forward, nothing is more common than for them to cut and maim themselves, in order to escape being taken from their families. They not only chop off the fore-finger of the right hand, but they have even been known to put out their own, and their children's eyes, with sharp instruments or corrosive substances: such is their hatred of Mohammed Ali, and

their love of home! It must not be supposed that the Arabs are cowards: this is far from being the case; but they are naturally industrious, social, and domesticated, fond of their children, and well disposed to all who use them well. This effort to elude the Pascha's vigilance succeeded for a time, but was attended in the end, with most disastrous consequences. Terrible punishments were inflicted; and very often the innocent, who had been blind or maimed from other causes, became the victims of a set of wretches, who, finding that a decree had gone forth on the subject, threatened to hand them over to the authorities if they did not answer their demands. In the summer of 1832, all influential men were required to furnish a certain number of soldiers under a penalty of 700 piastres (about 10*l*,) for each default. This occasioned such a search, and so many were seized and sent away from their homes, that the villages and towns were filled with lamentation; every thing was at a stand, and the women went about shrieking and wailing, as for the dead.*

The European discipline has been introduced both in the army and navy. At first, so important an inno-

* The Decree of Mohammed Ali, relative to recruits.

"March 12, 1833.

"To the Military Governors of Districts:

"With respect to the men whom we take for the service of our victorious armies and navies—On their way to us, some draw their teeth, some put out their eyes, and others break their arms, or in other ways maim themselves, thus laying us under the necessity of sending back the greater part, and causing the deficiency in the report of the war department which I always perceive. *Make up those deficiencies*, by sending *immediately* all the men which are wanting—all *fit for service, able bodied and healthy*. And when you forward them, let them know that they must not maim themselves, because I will take from the family of every such offender, *men* in his place:—*and he who has maimed himself shall be sent to the galleys for life!* I have already on my part, issued *written* orders on this subject to the Sheikhs, and do thou also take care, in concert with them, to levy the conscripts demanded; and send them *immediately*, informing me at the same time, and *with the least possible* delay, of the number of men which remains in your department. This is what I demand! (Signed) "MOHAMMED ALI."

vation occasioned a revolt, but it was easily crushed. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish a soldier from a sailor by his dress: but the latter bears a small brass anchor between the shoulders. When the sailors come on shore, they fall in, rank and file, and march away to the sound of the drum and fife; and many familiar English and French Airs—"Life let us cherish," "Malbrook," "Le valliant Troubadour," and the like, reached my ear.

There is a constant bustle and activity going on at Alexandria, and were the town in the hands of Europeans, it might be made a pleasant place of residence. It is seen to great disadvantage in its present desolate and filthy condition. It is a mistake to suppose that the climate is bad. The weather is more variable than at Cairo: but an occasional shower is any thing but objectionable, for rain is a rarity in Egypt. The sun is sometimes hot, but the thermometer seldom rises above 86° in the shade. In a general way, there is a difference of about eight or ten degrees between Alexandria and Cairo. The wind blows off the sea during ten months of the year: it is generally N.W. or West during the day, and "norths" a little towards night. It is to this that the salubrity of the town is chiefly owing. The salt lakes in the vicinity are not found to occasion any inconvenience. And the Franks are for the most part as healthy as they can expect to be, in a city where there is so little attention to cleanliness, ventilation, and draining. Those who do not live temperately, are sure to contract disease, and then they die off quickly. Many bring complaints upon themselves by acts of imprudence, viz. by exposing themselves to the extreme heat by day, and to the heavy dews at night, or by errors in diet. It is melan-

choly to observe the effects of ophthalmia, not only among the Franks, but among the natives, and the disease is brought on chiefly by these causes. Upon the whole, I should say, that those who complain of the climate of Alexandria, find fault without a cause, and the remedy is often with themselves. A highly favorable opinion was entertained of the situation formerly: the Greek physicians used commonly to recommend consumptive patients to take up their abode there; and for my part, I see no objection to it, provided they could always insure proper *medical advice*. I know those myself who retired to Egypt some years ago, after having been declared consumptive by physicians, and who not only recovered a certain degree of health, but are alive now, and have been able to return to Europe.

The day at last arrived that we were to take our leave, for the present, of the plains of Aboukir. They are bounded by the sea, and by the site of Lake Mareotis. The remains of various ancient buildings are scattered along the shore: but nothing very distinct can be made out concerning them. The spot is chiefly interesting to Englishmen, on account of the famous battle fought there by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, on the 21st of March 1801. We took the road to the Rosetta gate as before: the position of the French lines on the sandy heights to the right, I have already described; and it will be seen that their advantage must have been great.

Proceeding about two miles farther to the eastward, we came to the ruins of the old Roman fort, or as it is sometimes called, Cæsar's Palace; but it is so dilapidated, that it will pass for that or any thing else, equally well. Here we found some Arabs assembled, who brought us pieces of coloured glass

and stones, a few scraps of pottery, and some bits of metal, to sell as *antiques*, but which nobody purchased. Not far from hence, is pointed out the spot on which our gallant countryman received his death wound, just as the "trumpet called a victory." The white marble monument which was erected on the spot to his memory, has, I am sorry to say, long disappeared. The time is at hand, I hope, when one of granite will supply its place! When Colonel Campbell complained to the Pascha of the outrage committed, as was supposed by his consent, upon the pedestal of the English obelisque, His Highness sent him the inscription belonging to Abercrombie's tomb at Aboukir, as a recompense! It was on a large tablet of white marble, and has since been transported to England! We rambled over the plain, in various directions, and discovered a great quantity of human bones that had been bleached in the sun, and were still in a perfect state: there was no difficulty in finding bones in almost any part, where we chose to raise the sand. I put together a complete skeleton for Mr. Charles Barker, who was of our party, and I brought to England the skull, apparently of a Frenchman, which had had the operation of trepan performed on it, as it would seem, on account of a sabre wound.*

* The British anchored in the Bay of Aboukir, on the 1st of March, 1801, under Amiral Lord Keith; they effected a landing with a loss of about 500 men, had several skirmishes, but no regular engagement until the 8th, and 13th. The French had a superior force; nevertheless, Sir Robert Wilson estimates their loss in "killed, wounded, and prisoners, at 4000, of whom about 1700 were found on the field; that of the British being 239 killed, 1250 wounded, 32 missing." Wilson's History, p. 30—44. After this engagement, the English took possession of Rosetta without any difficulty; but it was deemed too hazardous an undertaking to make a descent on Alexandria just then. There, and at Fort St. Julien which commanded the Nile, the troops obtained water and provisions, and when Abercrombie fell, the command devolved upon General Hutchinson.

Perhaps, then, we may be allowed to assert that few places in the known world are more interesting to the traveller than Alexandria. It abounds in delightful associations; but it has never been properly explored. I am convinced that if it should ever fall into the hands of Europeans, much that is valuable will be revealed. I know of no place in Egypt which offers such a rich source of objects worthy of contemplation; and it is more than probable that the rubbish on which we so unconsciously tread, incloses documents and relics, which, could we obtain access to them, would throw a light upon many things connected with the early history of the country, if not of the human race. We are taught to believe that there, the records of the Egyptian priests were first translated into the language of the country; and that there, the Divine laws which were given to the Jews, were also made intelligible to the Gentiles; for it is considered "certain, that the Pentateuch was translated by Alexandrian Jews for the use of the Synagogue, about 285 years before the Christian Era, and that the Prophets were translated as early as the time of Antiochus Epiphanes."* Alexandria was formerly designated "the city of Interpreters," and was famous for her learning and her institutions. Where are her wise men now? What has become of all her greatness and her wisdom? Behold! the idols of Egypt have all been pulled down and destroyed;—even Serapis, the mighty Serapis, has been overthrown: and the rites of Canopus are no longer celebrated! The several sites of Bucharis, Heracleum, Taposiris, and Thonis are disputed. The renowned deeds of Pompey

* See Owen's Enquiry into the Septuagint, 8vo. 1779. p. 2.

and Cæsar, the Saracens, Saladin and the Crusaders, are talked of as nursery tales: they are remembered as a dream, and give place to the history of modern times, with which we are familiar. The most debased ignorance and superstition have succeeded to the overthrow of idolatry; and the language of the Septuagint is now scarcely known: but the sufferings of the early Christians, and the sighs of St. Mark, will long be recorded in the masses of mouldering ruins which lie at our feet. When, however, in progress of time, *they* disappear, and their original situation is unknown, or marked only by accumulated masses of earth, their very absence will proclaim their former history: and if there be nothing else,—if there remain not a vestige of these stupendous monuments, the very want of it will suffice to convince us of the power and justice of the Almighty, and the unerring truth of the Divine Revelation. At present, we see in them, as every where else throughout Egypt, "from Syene down to the sea," that the word of God has indeed been fulfilled: for there is not one stone left upon another, that has escaped dishonour: all is ruin and desolation: and the ancient glory of Alexandria, like the perishable beauty of Cleopatra, has passed away as a shadow, and returned to its native dust!

CHAPTER V.

JOURNEY ACROSS THE DESERT FROM ALEXANDRIA TO ROSETTA.

We now prepared for our journey into the interior;* and having collected all the information we could, and taken leave of our friends, we set forth at three o'clock in the afternoon, mounted on donkeys, for which we paid ten piastres each, to Rosetta. One animal extra carried our baggage:—the guide went on foot. We proceeded by the direct course to the inner wall, which we passed, near to the grand "Okellah" after having shown our "Teskereh."†

We soon arrived at the outer wall, and left the town, as on a former occasion, by the "Bab el Raschid," or Rosetta gate. The walls are in good preservation; they are very thick, and have been lately repaired and strengthened by Mohammed Ali. The desert lay before us. On the right, we beheld the

* The only articles we found it necessary to buy at Alexandria were, a woollen mattrass, about an inch and a half thick, (to be employed as a bed, or divan furniture,) for each person: some pipes and tobacco: a good stock of tea, for there is none to be got in the upper country, a few bottles of French Brandy, some Marsala Wine, and a couple of blankets. I also suggested a pair of sheets, sewed up at the end and sides, and provided with a running string at the top, so as to keep out the fleas, scorpions, and snakes, and this we found to answer admirably: lastly, a large square bag, so made that it might either be used as a bag, or, being stuffed with cotton, as a head pillow.

† A kind of passport granted by the government to all who are going a journey, and have baggage. For this custom I believe the Egyptians are indebted to the French.

mounds thrown up, and the remains of the trenches dug by General Menou; on the left, a few scattered ruins of ancient towns, but of which nothing has been distinctly made out. In the distance, lay the little island and rock of Aboukir, just at the commencement of the Bay. We now entered fairly upon the desert, where we saw but few signs of vegetation, after the first two or three miles. Near the sea were the remains of some columns, and a little farther on, a poor miserable village in the midst of palms; it consists of wretched looking hovels, whose inhabitants are supposed to represent the people of the ancient city of Bucharis, of which, however, there is hardly a vestige even of the foundation. Not far off is the equally mean and neglected settlement of Aboukir, which gives a name to the Bay formed by this projecting point on the one side, and by a similar point (that of "Raschid" or Rosetta) on the other. The reader need scarcely be reminded that it was here that the British Admiral, afterwards Lord Nelson, destroyed the French fleet. The distance between the Pharos Castle of Alexandria and the point of Aboukir, is five leagues, and from thence to the Rosetta mouth of the Nile, is sixteen miles. On the point stands the old Castle of Aboukir, a place of no moment, except as a land-mark. The whole coast is low and sandy, and very dangerous on account of shoal water and sunken rocks: there is nevertheless, good anchorage in six and six and a half fathoms, for those acquainted with the bay. Extending half a league to the N.E. of what is called Aboukir Island, is the reef on which the "Culloden" struck in going to attack the French fleet. On the eastern side of the bay, there is as much as seven and eight fathoms of water, and it is not, I believe, generally known, that in

making the land, that is, in running for Aboukir, the soundings are very uncertain; in some parts, varying on a sudden as much as ten fathoms,—a thing very likely to deceive; for the shore is so low that it cannot always be seen, although the distance may not be very great. The wreck of the French Admiral's ship "L'Orient" lies about two miles and a half to the N.W. of the island, and that of two other frigates about three miles and a quarter to the S.W. of it. To the westward of the village of Etko, about a mile off shore, there is another wreck; and on the fourth of March 1801, the "Foudroyant" struck on a shoal, also supposed to have been produced by a wreck. The Pascha takes no measures to remedy or remove these evils, although he knows that the Bay of Aboukir is the only place the Egyptian fleet can run for in bad weather. Many a ship goes to pieces on this coast, and others lose their masts and cables. Near the village, is a khan, affording a poor shelter to those passing and re-passing between Rosetta and Alexandria; and this was to be our dormitory that night. We arrived there about sun-set, and found it occupied by a number of people quite of the lowest description. We anticipated a miserable night; for it may be said of an Arab Fellah, equally as of Catiline—that he is not only distinguished by the "corpus patiens *inediæ*," but also "*vigiliæ*, supra quàm cuiquam credibile est." Nay, we may even go farther; and following up the comparison in regard to mind as well as body, we may add "animus audax, subdolus, varius, cujuslibet rei simulator ac dissimulator: *alieni appetens*, * * * * *; ardens in cupiditatibus, *satis eloquentiæ*, sapientiæ parum."*

We had a fair prospect of taking up our abode along

* Sallustii Bellum Catilinarium.

with the guide, and the *other* beasts of burthen, on the wrong side of the door; or at all events, if "mine host of the khan" did make room for us, of having our rest disturbed by the entertaining discussions within, which were not only unintelligible in themselves, but conducted with so much vehemence of tone and manner, as to leave us sometimes in doubt, whether they would not be settled at last, *vi et armis!* This idea originated in our own want of experience. The dispositions of men cannot always be determined by their exterior. These inoffensive people required repose as well as ourselves; and though I have likened them to Catiline in some respects, I should be sorry to do so in all: and we soon learned better to appreciate the Arab character, than to misinterpret the ardour of their gesticulations, and the natural warmth of their feelings.

The khan consisted of one very small room; adjoining which, was a shed open in front. The former was literally crammed with people, who were sitting round a fire made on the hearth, in noisy conclave, and gave us not the most indirect hint that they meditated such a thing as departure before morning. To us, who were as yet unaccustomed to that sort of dog sleep which is almost necessary for those who travel in the desert, this was no trifling thing. The room was full of smoke, partly from tobacco, but chiefly from fuel—oppressively hot inside, chill and damp without. Nevertheless, we preferred spreading our mats on some benches that were near the wall, in the shed. We had scarcely done so, when suddenly a movement was made among the Arabs; and in a few minutes, they set out for Alexandria. We did not shift our position. Mohammed prepared us some tea, and set before us some cold meat, which was followed up by the now familiar and

friendly t'chibouque. After a short doze, Bradford started up in a fright, declaring that he felt some one pulling under his bedding; and that he was positive either the guide or somebody else, was trying to indulge his pilfering propensities. ("alieni appetens!") We reconnoitered the place, but all was still. Lighting the taper of my dark lanthorn, I went quietly round the building, whilst Bradford stood sentry over our goods and chattels within. On the ground at our feet, lay Mohammed—*snoring!* a short distance off, lay our guide—*ditto!*—those who remained of the Arabs, were snugly stretched in the apartment, by the still glowing embers; and the door was all but closed. Now for the exterior. Every thing was as still as the grave! The moon was not yet visible; but the atmosphere was brilliantly illuminated, and there was not a cloud to be seen. Had the occasion suited, it would have been far from uninteresting to have taken a melancholy stroll among the unmarked, solemn graves of Aboukir, over which no tear has yet been shed, nor has any sigh been heaved, unless from the bosom of the passing stranger; and the sad fate of whose inmates has been recorded in history, and lamented and mourned by their unhappy relatives. But this was no time for such reflections, and yet I could not help thinking how many that are now fatherless, and brotherless, or widows, would gladly, yet sorrowfully, have stood where I then did! It may be some consolation to them to think that the memory of their departed friends was respected by a countryman! I returned to the khan and found all still, except my companion, who was far from being satisfied with his situation. I laughed at his misfortunes, and told him that he must have been dreaming, or had the night-mare, for that nothing was to be heard

but the donkeys champing their "tibbin!"* The rest of the night passed without interruption, except occasionally from vermin! We arose before day-break, and having taken our coffee, again set forward, and were not a little entertained, when Mohammed told us that one of the donkeys had been amusing himself at the khan, by tugging at the straw which formed the stuffing of Bradford's saddle, and that the guide was in a great rage about it. This explained the last night's adventure: of which, however, Mohammed knew nothing, being a capital sleeper, and he was no doubt accustomed to such stories. The saddle had been deposited close at our friend's head; indeed he had placed his pillow against it, and the covering being torn, the poor animal was tempted to explore the nature of its contents, and hence disturbed his rider, who concluded that nothing short of *robbery* was intended, but little thought from what quarter the intrusion came!

Leaving the khan, we soon reached the shores of the bay; and as the sun began to rise, we passed along the narrow slip of land which divides the Lake Mareotis from the sea. It was here that the British, under General Hutchinson, as a means of defence against superior numbers, cut away the embankment, which had stood for ages;† and thus inundated the country. The General consented to this measure with reluctance; but he was constrained to do it by the army, who were too sensible of the advantages they

* In Egypt they have no hay, but feed these animals, as well as the horses and oxen, on "tibbin," (chopped straw.)

† This was similar to some of the great dykes of Holland and Lincolnshire: witness the fosse dyke near Croyland Abbey, and the sluice gates of Amsterdam: also those near the old fishing villages of Graevellinge and Cadwick, which are still more remarkable, the walls being ten feet thick, and each gate weighing 11,000 pounds. This last mentioned sluice cost 248,000 florins.

would gain by it over the enemy, not to urge it as a matter of necessity. It had become a favourite measure: the minds of the soldiers were inflamed at the idea, and they had been still more excited to the act, in consequence of the fears expressed in a letter found in General Roiz's pocket, that the English would strengthen their position by such a step. The manner of it is thus described by Sir Thomas Wilson:—"Four cuts were made, of six yards in breadth, and about ten from each other: the water rushed in with a fall of six feet: and the pride and peculiar care of Egypt, the consolidation of ages, was in a few hours destroyed by the devastating hand of man. The water continued entering for a month with considerable force."*

This step certainly gave a most decisive blow to the success of the French; for it was what they most dreaded, and such as they could not possibly have prevented. The English had already taken possession of Rosetta and Fort St. Julien, and therefore, while they were furnished with abundance of provisions, and their strength recruited, they received protection from a source which at first they had not contemplated, but which was equivalent to perhaps three times the number of troops. The spirits of the English rose in proportion as the panic gained upon the enemy's troops, already discontented, and suffering from ophthalmia.

A mere glance at the map will show what a very important step this must have been at such a crisis: and the position held by the British army will appear at once. The Turks subsequently attempted to repair the embankment, and they built up strong walls. They succeeded to a certain extent: but they have not been able to prevent the passage of the sea entirely.

* Wilson's History, p. 55.

The waters of the Lake Mareotis are saltish, and in the vicinity of the bay, a great quantity of the mineral is collected as the fluid evaporates. We continued along the borders of Lake Aboukir, and having proceeded about eight miles from the khan, we came to a rapid stream, which is now the mouth of Lake Etko; and there cannot be a doubt, I think, as to this having been the celebrated Canopic branch of the Nile. But where was Canopus? That is a question not easily determined. From the account given by Strabo, it has been inferred that the town of "Heraclium" was literally *between* Canopus and the Canopic mouth; and the words* he uses are very plain; but they are by no means such as to authorize us to place Canopus so far to the westward as we see it in our maps,—put down close to the point of Aboukir, and as near as may be, occupying the position of the lake; indeed just where the water enters from the sea. We have only to compare the ancient and modern maps, and we shall remark this at once. It certainly does appear to me, that the decision which persons have come to on this subject, is not at all satisfactory; and I would rather have placed Canopus at, or close to, the most western point of land *bounding the Canopic mouth:* and I think the words of Strabo would equally justify our doing so: for it is fair to suppose that this branch of the Nile was named after the principal and most renowned city in its *immedaite* neighbourhood, and to which it led. Now, we have sufficient proof that the sea has made considerable inroads in this part: and there are legitimate grounds for believing that we do not behold these shores as they once were.

* "E Canopicâ portâ exeunti ad dextram est fossa, qui lacui jungitur, et Canopi fert..... *Post* Canopum est Heraclium quod Herculis templum habet. *Inde* est Canopicum ostium, et ipsius Delta initium." Oxford Strabo, pp. 1135, 6.

Keeping then in view what I have already mentioned, viz,—that the whole of the *western* side of the Bay of Aboukir abounds in rocks and shoals, and that the *eastern* side is comparatively free from them,—that as the north-westerly winds prevail during ten months of the year, and the currents on the southern shores of the Mediterranean, run strong to the *eastward*,—a very heavy sea would (and frequently does) flow into the bay, and the eastern side of it alone would feel its force, the *western* being protected by the point of Aboukir;* (or as it is thought then to have been called, the "Zephyrium Promontory," of Strabo, where also stood the city of Thonis.) Keeping these things in view, we may with propriety conceive, that the western boundary of the Canopic Mouth projected farther into the sea than at present; especially as the current of the stream runs strong in that direction, even now; whereas formerly, when it proceeded from the Nile instead of Lake Etko, its force must have been equal to that of the Nile, viz.—three and three miles and a half an hour, at ordinary times; and when the river was at its height, not less than five miles an hour. It is easy to understand that the force of this river on the one side, and the violence of the wind and the waves on the other, would effectually wear away the land until it completely rounded the point; and in the present day, the form of the bay is semicircular and rendered equal. If then it be granted, that this, the *Canopic Promontory*, formerly extended farther than it now does, (and the fact almost amounts to a demonstration,) we may with equal justice suppose, and with very little stretch of the imagination, that the

* A fact which is proved by the extraordinary accumulation of wrecks in the present day; whereas none are ever found on the *western* shores of the Bay.

city of Canopus stood upon it; that it was a sea-port town, and extended westerly; and also, that the town of Heraclium stood on the banks of the river, next in order, and close to the city of Canopus, on the spot marked by the khan or ferry house.* We are assured that Canopus was fifteen miles east of Alexandria, which the spot to which I have referred, it would be; and moreover, that the Canopic branch of the Nile was also called the Heraclion, after the other city, which was famous for a temple dedicated to Jupiter. If my ideas are supported by probability, and approach to anything like truth, the description given by Strabo still holds good, and is not interfered with in the least: for that writer would naturally speak of the chief city *first*, more particularly as it was so much in vogue, and as a dyke or canal† (fossa) led to it from Alexandria: after that, he would speak of Heraclium, next in situation and importance; and lastly, of the river itself, and the beginning of the Delta, beyond it, just as now we speak of the view of the Delta, when we are on the banks of the Nile at Rosetta. I would therefore compare the situation of Heraclium to that of Rosetta, and refer Canopus to what may justly be denominated the Canopic point or promontory, now washed by the sea, and nearly obliterated. It may have extended some

* I allude to the building on the western side of the stream; this Khan is said to have been built by a Moor of Cairo.

† The term in the original is "fossa," which means dyke or ditch, but as we are told that this formed the medium of communication between the two towns, it is probable that it was actually a dyke, similar to the immense fosse dykes in Lincolnshire, and in Holland; by which the land is drained, and the sea kept out, (as already alluded to in page 150.) In this way there would be an excellent enbankment and causeway for passengers; and in all probability, there was a canal by the side of it, for boats. Moreover, though we do not read of it, it is very likely that a similar branch and canal extended between the lake and Taposiris, for the distance is not great. Perhaps, ere long, we shall hear of the communication being made between Alexandria and Rosetta, by a railway!

distance in-land, towards the Lake Mareotis, and we may imagine the inhabitants of Alexandria amusing themselves on the lake, fishing, and rowing about in boats, making excursions to Canopus by the canal, and thence to Heraclium and the Nile, as we know they did, and giving themselves up to all kinds of pleasure and sensual delight, such as the luxurious atmosphere of Egypt is so peculiarly calculated to promote, and such as the dissolute votaries of Serapis, and the licentious inhabitants of Canopus, were both known to cultivate and to indulge, to the utmost of their power, striving to invent fresh sources of happiness, and sacrificing all things else to the gratification of voluptuous desires. Shakspeare, in his tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra, gives us many specimens of the luxury and genial climate of Egypt. The practices of the people too were well remembered in his brilliant description of the Queen; and it is a beautiful illustration of the subject before us. Enobarbus says to Agrippa, on his return from the east,—

"The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne
Burn'd on the water; the poop was beaten gold;
Purple the sails, and so perfumed, that
The winds were love-sick with them: the oars were silver;
Which, to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
The water which they beat, to follow faster,
As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,
It beggar'd all description; she did lie
In her pavilion, (cloth of gold, of tissue,)
O'erpicturing that Venus, where we see,
The fancy outwork, nature; on each side her,
Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling cupids,
With diverse colour'd fans, whose wind doth seem
To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool,
And that they undid, did."—*

Agrippa. "Oh, rare for Antony!"—

Enobarb. "Her gentlewomen, like the Nereides,
So many mermaids tended her, i' the eyes,

* Added to the warmth they were intended to diminish.

And made their bends adornings; at the helm
A seeming mermaid steers; the silken tackle
Swell with the touches of those flower-soft hands,
That yarely frame* the office. From the barge,
A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
Of the adjacent wharfs. The city cast
Her people out upon her; and Antony,
Enthron'd in the market-place, did sit alone,
Whistling to the air; which but for vacancy,
Had gone to gaze on Cleopatra too,
And made a gap in nature."†

Agrippa. "Rare Egyptian!"

Enobarb. "Upon her landing, Antony sent to her,
Invited her to supper; she replied,
It should be better he became her guest;
Which she intreated: our courteous Antony,
Whom ne'er the word of 'No'—woman heard speak,
Being barber'd ten times o'er, goes to the feast,
And, for his ordinary,—pays his heart,
For what his eyes eat only!"‡

Truly, the fancy may with ease depict the beauteous Cleopatra languishing on the clear unruffled waters of the lake, beneath a glowing, cloudless sky, inhaling new life at every breath, tasting the delicious fruits of Paradise, and revelling in all the luxury of Oriental magnificence. We may picture to ourselves the love-sick fairy-queen reposing under a canopy of silk and gold, fanned by her blushing juvenile attendants, and lulled by the soothing "harmony of sweet sounds,"—or lending a grateful ear to the soft impassioned accents of a favoured suitor. We may imagine hundreds like her, but in more humble state, reclining on a silken Iris couch, within a painted barge, shedding on all around, the lustre of their charms but ill concealed, and inflaming the enraptured senses by the delicate touch of dulcimer or lyre,—

* Readily perform.

† Alluding to an axiom in the Peripatetic philosophy—that "nature abhors a vacuum."

‡ Antony and Cleopatra, Act. II. Scene 2.

"Whose trembling strings about their fingers crowd,
And tell their joy for every kiss aloud.
Small force there needs to make them tremble so:
Touch'd by such hands,—who would not tremble too?
There love takes stand, and whilst they charm the ear,
Empties his quiver on the list'ning deer.
Music so softens and disarms the mind,
That not an arrow can resistance find.
So Nero once, with harp in hand, survey'd
His flaming Rome! and whilst she burnt, he played!"—

WALLER.

Thus, no doubt, in the earlier ages of the world, as at the present day, were the influence and ascendancy of woman felt and acknowledged! Poets and historians have described the loveliest and fairest then, as now (for human nature is still the same,) admiring, courted and admired, and as much the modellers of society, but unrestrained by the usages of refined example, as little accustomed to suppress as to conceal their feelings; and actuated rather by the violence of passion and a luxurious education, than the dictates of reason or reflection, we may conceive them, in gentle sighs venturing to tell their love, and in the ardour of unfeigned affection, daring to express in words, the thoughts which tender looks so eloquently spoke.*

* Witness the passion entertained by Dido for Æneas: beautifully described by Virgil, in the fourth book of the Æneid: and the tender confession of Desdemona to the swarthy Moor, the recital of whose "travel's history" called forth the maiden's pity, and "beguiled her of her tears." Nay more: it drew from her

"A prayer of earnest heart
That he would all his pilgrimage dilate,
Whereof by parcels she had something heard,
But not distinctively:"—

She lent a willing ear to his discourse, seemingly unconscious of her own condition,

"She saw Othello's visage in his mind;

but never once perceived her growing sympathy, or dreamed that "sympathy is akin to love."

"His story being done,
She gave him for his pains, a world of sighs;

The city of Canopus received its name from Canopus, a beautiful youth who died on the coast of Egypt, in the vigour of health, in consequence of the bite of a serpent. He was the pilot of the vessel of Menelaus, and is believed to have been buried in this place.

We soon reached the banks of the stream, the supposed Canopic Branch, which we ferried over. There were a great many camels and Arabs at the khan, which had just come across, on their way to Alexandria. We saluted and passed on: our route then lay for some distance along the sea shore, which for miles, was strewed with wrecks; and I understand it is seldom, if ever, that a person passes this way at any season of the year, without finding some. We saw also, I think I may say, thousands of crabs playfully running in and out of the sea: but they were small, and I should think, tasteless. There is, I believe, pretty fair anchorage *off* the bay for those mariners who are acquainted with the coast, but they must beware of shoal water; and no one anchors in this part but from necessity. Lake Etko was on our right: we found the journey along the firm sands of the sea, very pleasant: the atmosphere was cool and agreeable, and gladly would we have continued the same course; but we were destined again to enter upon the desert, and the contrast was indeed great. We observed a number of burnt

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She said,—in faith 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange;
'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful:
She wish'd she had not heard it: yet she wish'd
That heaven had made her such a man: she thank'd him;
And bade him, if he had a friend that lov'd her,
He should but teach him how to tell his story,
And that would woo her!"

Othello, Act I. Sc. 3.

brick land-marks at intervals, erected for the guidance of land travellers; and a scanty palm-tree here and there presented itself, which Sir Fred. Henniker has quaintly compared, to "a corpse carrying its own plume of feathers!" We found a very uncertain and treacherous footing, and the heat was intense; for the distance not being considerable, we did not halt during the middle of the day, especially as there was nothing to shelter us from the sun's rays. Our wisest plan would have been to have staid either at the khan, or to have reposed by the water-side, for a couple of hours, and refreshed ourselves with a bath.

Our road lay through the most complete desert; as much so, as if we had been in the midst of the great Sahara: we passed a well or watering place, where we made a short halt, but did not find the water very tempting. Our progress was afterwards slow; for the animals sunk frequently over the fetlocks in the loose sand. As we approached Rosetta, the ground became firmer, but more irregular; we were often deceived by the Mirage, and fancied we saw the town and its plantations, and the flowing Nile, long before those objects made their appearance. At length we did see the town; and passing over a succession of sand hills, arrived at a grove of palm-trees, said to mark the position sustained by General Wauchop. The Nile and the gardens of Rosetta now came into view, and formed a pleasing contrast with the comparatively barren country about Alexandria, and still more so with the desert which we had just left. We entered the gates between four and five o'clock, and passed through the long narrow streets of the town to the quay direct, to a

sort of shed which answers the purpose of Custom House. Our goods were here deposited, and our guide, with the animals, discharged. We now proceeded to a Turkish Coffee-house, and reposed upon the quay, while Mohammed made enquiry about a cand'gia or boat to convey us to Cairo, as we determined to sleep on board that night. He was not long before he brought us intelligence of his success; and his approach was first intimated to us by a strange and loud melé of voices; above all of which, the well-known guttural accents of our swarthy representative were distinctly heard. He came to us, followed by a variety of individuals all talking at once, and recommending their own cand'gias to his notice, of course expecting to get a good price from the "Frangi Effendi!"* With some difficulty, Mohammed contrived to clear the road; but they soon returned to the charge, and all the skill he had, could not silence the tongues of his pursuers, who now became more vociferous than ever.

A janizary of the English Consul, who resided at his master's house at Rosetta, and who happened to be passing at the moment, discovering the cause of the hubbub, set about belabouring their sides with his baton, to our infinite amusement, leaving Mohammed and the Reis,† whom the former had selected, in full possession of the field. As soon as he could obtain a hearing, Mohammed opened his mouth, and commenced his oration. "Signore!—Se vi piace, ho trovato molti capitani che hanno ciaschedúno un bastimento—mai sono quasi tutti, picoli et spórci, e non

* Effendi is a title given to any one who can read and write, and is to be understood to designate whoever is considered worthy, from his condition, to be ranked as a gentleman.

† Captain of a boat.

vallono niénte!—niénte, Signore! Non c'e che uno, solaménte, ch'e buóno. Questo uómo, e 'el Reis,' o il capitano: e l'ho portato qui——" So he was proceeding. In short, he had treated with the man; and though I believe he had taken pretty good care of himself,—upon the whole, being chafed with the journey, and anxious to find a resting-place, we inspected the boat, and ordered Mohammed to set the man to work to clean it well out, &c. We next had to undergo the process of questioning by the officers, and must have submitted to the ceremony of the "Douannes;" but a few piastres settled the business, and saved us a good deal of trouble. In the course of about half-an-hour, we found ourselves for the first time in our lives, embarked on the Nile, seated on our divans, surrounded by all the paraphernalia of Oriental travellers, and not a little pleased to be quietly lodged. We soon deposited our baggage, and began to consider —what next? With one voice, we voted tea,—our universal refuge when heated and fatigued,—after which, a bath; et après,—la pipe, and a small cup of coffee à la Turque! We were not disposed to do much more that evening than lounge about the quay, and enjoy the beauty of the scenery, and the refreshing coolness of the atmosphere; so Mohammed was despatched in quest of such articles as he required from the bazaar.*

In passing from Alexandria to Rosetta, we saw a great number of lizards, and some chamelions; and at starting, we observed some most beautiful little birds,

* To wit, a suitable provision-box, some clean Egyptian matting, a chafing-dish or furnace, a kettle, a couple of stewing-pans, and a gridiron; a few cups and plates; coffee, charcoal, flint and steel, rice, eggs, meat, and vegetables, and such other important matters as were calculated to cheer the outward man and give comfort to the soul.

of the swallow tribe, but of a rich dark green colour, and most glossy plumage. Their habits and manner were the same as those of the ordinary swallow of this country. But the most singular thing which arrested our attention was the "Mirage." This is certainly one of the most extraordinary sights in nature; and what the Will-o'-the-Whisp is in low marshy situations, such is the Mirage in the dry, parched, sandy desert, inasmuch as both have led the weary traveller astray, and caused him to wander far away from his path. The Mirage, or, as it is best known in the East, the Siraub, or Water of the Desert, is chiefly to be observed when the atmosphere is most clear, and when the sun is at its height. It furnishes a specimen of the most perfect optical delusion that can possibly be imagined; and so great is the excitement it produces, that it is not until self-convinced, that an individual believes that he has been deceived. It occurs, too, at the very time that the want of water is most severely felt; exerting, therefore, a painful influence over Europeans, when parched and scorched amid the arid plains of the wilderness, where at times the ground beneath the feet resembles the "hot ashes of a forge," and the surrounding atmosphere is felt "as the vapour of a furnace." The trials of Tantalus were not greater than have since been endured by persons who, under such circumstances, have been so cruelly tampered with by the Mirage. This curious phenomenon consists of a sudden appearance, on the horizon, of trees, palaces, and the most beautiful gardens, lakes, ships, and moving objects; and frequently the thirsty wanderer, were he left to himself, panting like a hart for cooling streams and shadowy dells, would waste his strength in search of the refreshing draught; and,

attracted farther and farther into the desert by the wanton vagaries of nature, and the physical deceptions of fancy, would follow up in despair, an endless pursuit of that which, however delicious to the eye, or alluring to the steps, he may rest content, has really no existence but in his own deluded imagination; for, after the extreme mortification of beholding the desired objects assume a variety of forms, and retire incessantly before him, as if in mockery of his approach, still keeping, as it were, upon the horizon, he is all at once doomed to suffer the acmé of his disappointment; for, on looking up, he discovers that this phantom of his fevered brain has suddenly vanished from his sight; or, turning accidentally round, he beholds, to his utter astonishment, the self-same objects as far behind him in a different direction, or occupying, perhaps, the very spot that he had just left. Such was the fate of the English and French armies, and such has been the fate of many a hapless wanderer, who, having missed his way, has sunk down at last, exhausted and faint, and perished in the wilderness! I am myself acquainted with a lady, whose father lost his life in this way. She was with him, as a child, helpless and feeble, but not deserted. She was protected by a faithful servant, and restored to her disconsolate family.

Thirst is, at all times, painful and distressing; but no one can possibly form an idea of what it is to be without water in the desert. How much, then, must the suffering be aggravated by the apparent existence of water, and the certainty, which experience teaches, that it is nothing but the Mirage which rises up in cruel mockery of our pain! But so it is; and no one who has crossed the desert is unacquainted with this

extraordinary phenomenon. The landscapes which it sometimes presents to view are so exquisitely beautiful, that those even who reside in the country, and are familiar with their nature, cannot always reconcile themselves to the fact of their nonentity. Their appearance depends on the variation of density, and an alteration in the refractive powers of bodies; and the same effects may be produced artificially as are observed on the large scale in nature. They are neither confined to sea nor land, and the images are multiplied and rendered vertical. The term "Mirage" properly means *suspension;* for at sea, ships and other objects frequently appear, not only inverted, but suspended in the clouds. Some districts are more favourable to the Mirage than others. This is particularly the case off the coast of Sicily, and in other volcanic districts. The Straits of Messina and the neighbourhood of Reggio are also famous for it.

There is a singular variety of the Mirage, described by Brydone in his "Tour through Sicily and Malta;"* but the phenomena there alluded to, occur in the higher regions of the atmosphere, and generally, during the extreme heat of summer, and after the air and the sea have been much agitated by winds; and that a calm has succeeded. It is under such circumstances, and about the dawn of day, that a great variety of singular forms appear—castles, palaces, woods, and gardens, especially in that part of the heavens which is over the Straits of Messina. Some of them are at rest; others move about with great rapidity; and as the light increases, they seem to become more aerial, until at last, "some little time," says Brydone, "before sunrise, they entirely disappear."

* Vol. i. p. 93.

The Sicilians, with their usual superstition, and readiness to refer anything out of the common way, to supernatural agencies, give the devil the credit of it,—and they certainly come to the point at once, and set the matter at rest in a very off-hand way, bidding defiance to argument and philosophy. It has been referred, like the Aurora Borealis, and many other phenomena of nature, to electrical causes; but like the Mirage, it is more probably owing to some extraordinary reflection and refraction, the water of the Straits being then calm and unruffled like a mirror, and the atmosphere clear, serene, and bright. It should be kept in mind, that the climate of the Mediterranean is very different from that of England. Most persons have observed the distortion of objects which is produced on a very clear day, when viewed through an oscillating medium; and the tremulous motion of the atmosphere occasioned by the ascending and descending currents immediately above the chimney of a furnace, or a baker's oven, where the temperature is great, and where there is no smoke, is familiar to all. The Mirage, of which the appearances just described, probably constitute a variety, I would attempt to explain upon the same principle. The idea is supported by the experiments of Dr. Wollaston. The form of Mirage which I have spoken of, as occurring at Reggio in the Straits of Messina, has received the name of the "Fata Morgana." It appears when the sun's rays are at an angle of about 45° with the sea, and only when the bright surface of the water is not disturbed by any wind or current; and if any part of the air be loaded with a dense vapour, so as to *vary* and *distort* the objects, and exhibit them in the atmosphere, they are called by

the natives "The castles of the Fairy Morgana." The experiments of Dr. Wollaston on this subject, are so simple and at the same time so important, that they cannot be made too generally known. They go to prove that all these phenomena "depend on the irregular refraction of the rays of light, in passing through contiguous portions of air of different densities." He put a little clear syrup into a phial, and then poured about an equal quantity of water into it, over the syrup. The phial was set on the table, and having placed a printed card about an inch behind it, whether he looked through the syrup or through the water, the letters on the card appeared *erect*, but when seen through that part where the two fluids were gradually mixing together, the letters appeared equally *distinct*, but *inverted*. A similar effect may be produced with hot and cold water, or even by two portions of cold and heated air. Take two chairs, place them back to back, and about a foot apart; connect the tops of the chairs by two bits of strong wire, and on the wires lay the kitchen poker, the square of which has previously been made *red hot*. Exactly in the direction of the poker, if you now pin a large printed A upon the wall, and look at it along the heated poker, you will distinctly see three images of the A, the *middle* one being *inverted*, the *other two erect!*

The Mirage, we are told, is so considerable in the Plains of Pelusium, that shortly after sun-rise, no object is recognisable. From the observations of Monge, who accompanied the French expedition, it appears, that the Mirage will be found in almost every country situated between the Tropics, when the local circumstances are similar. This gentleman, and also Sir David Brewster, who has since examined the

subject, both agree with Dr. Wollaston as to the philosophical mode of explanation. *

* Mr. Dalby writes in the Philosophical Transactions, that ascending a hill in the Isle of Wight, he observed that the top of another hill, of about the same level, seemed to dance up and down as he advanced; and on bringing his eye down to within two feet of the ground, the top of the hill appeared totally detached or lifted up from the lower part, the sky being seen under it. This he repeatedly observed, and he adds, that as the sun was rather warm for the season, with a heavy dew, there was a great deal of evaporation.

Dr. Buchan, walking on the cliff about a mile east of Brighton, in the latter end of November, just as the sun was rising, saw the face of the cliff on which he was standing represented precisely opposite to him, at some distance in the sea; and both he and his companion perceived their own figures standing on the summit of the apparent cliff, as well as the picture of a windmill near them. This phenomenon lasted about ten minutes, when it seemed to be elevated into the air, and to be gradually dissipated: and he remarks, that the surface of the sea was covered with a dense fog, many yards in height, which slowly receded before the sun's rays. A similar thing occurred to two English gentlemen who were travelling in Switzerland; they saw the reflection of two apparently gigantic figures, on an opposite mountain, which proved to be their own shadows.

Capt. Scoresby, in the account given of his voyage to the Greenland Seas, after describing the amusing scene occasioned by some distant ships, which were curiously distorted or inverted in the air, by means of this wonderful kind of refraction, says, "When looking through the telescope, the coast of ice or rock had often the appearance of the remains of an ancient city, abounding with the ruins of castles, churches, and monuments, with other large and conspicuous buildings. The hills often appeared to be surmounted with turrets, battlements, spires, and pinnacles, while others, subjected to another kind of refraction, seemed to be large masses of rock suspended in the air at a considerable elevation, above the actual terminations of the mountains to which they referred. The whole exhibition formed a grand and majestic phantasmagoria. Scarcely was the appearance of any object fully examined and determined, before it changed to something else; it was perhaps alternately a castle, a cathedral, or an obelisk; and then expanding and coalescing with the adjoining mountains, it united the intermediate valleys, though they might be miles in width, by a bridge of a single arch, of the most magnificent appearance."

Precisely of this kind were the appearances witnessed by myself off Cape Passero, in Sicily, and also the delusive scenes which I beheld at the Lakes of Killarney, in Ireland, and which are of such common occurrence, that they have given rise to an almost endless variety of fancies and superstitious legendary tales. A modification of the Mirage was noticed in the summer of 1831, *on the banks of the Thames*, when a survey was made with a view to ascertain the height of the river at London Bridge above the sea at Sheerness. It was remarked that an oscillation took place in the particles of the atmosphere while the sun shone brightly, which was not perceptible when it was clouded at the place of observation. This motion was also found to be equal both above and below any object; for on placing the wire of the telescope one half the distance between the extreme oscillations, whenever the sun became

The town of Rosetta was once of importance; but it now contains nothing of interest. The streets are long and narrow, and the houses are high, and built of red brick, with projecting latticed windows. The general form of the town is oblong; it is irregular, and of a gloomy, desolate appearance, many of the buildings being deserted. The opening of the canal of Alexandria has made a considerable difference to Rosetta; for as comparatively few cargoes are sent round by the "Bogaz," it will easily be conceived that the trade of Rosetta has materially fallen of.* There is accordingly but little doing at the bazaar, beyond that which the inhabitants personally stand in need of.

Rosetta has one large Mosque, with a double minaret; and there are several coffee houses. But what seems to give the principal character to Rosetta now, is its gardens; though they do not merit all that has been said in their praise, they are pretty, and certainly attractive. The fact is, that when persons arrive from Alexandria, they are delighted to behold anything that

obscured, the wire was found to bisect the object. Query? Might not this effect have been produced by the increased reflexion of light, when the sun was unobscured, on the aqueous particles of the atmosphere, which on account of evaporation, would be considerable on the banks of the river? This Mirage was so great as to throw doubt on the accuracy of the observations in some places, which rendered it necessary to repeat them. Between the Isle of Grain and Sheerness, at low water, particularly when the wind was high, this vibration very much delayed the observations. From all this it appears, that we need not go to Egypt to see the Mirage, at least in some of its varieties; or even to the south of Europe, as we have opportunities enough in the British dominions. But no one can possibly form an idea of what is more generally understood by the true Mirage, the "Siraub," or "Water of the Desert," without having seen it in the East: there are so many things associated with it that it cannot be appreciated by description. On this interesting subject, see "Waddington's visit to Ethiopia and Dongola," "Dr. E. D. Clarke's Travels," vol. ii., p. 295—7; "Humboldt's Persian Narrative," vol. ii., p. 196, vol. iii. pp. 358, 542. Also, "The Monthly Review for May, 1817," p. 3. "The Penny Magazine," No. 116, and the "Athenæum," p. 206.

* The "Bogaz" is a dangerous sand-bar covered with surf, at the mouth of the Nile. See p. 173.

is green, and to taste the sweet waters of the Nile,—being but fresh importations from the Desert. Who can be otherwise than transported, on beholding himself on the banks of this magnificent river? On no occasion, when travelling in Egypt, ought we to carry our European notions with us; and the remark justly applies here. There is no enjoyment without alloy: our happiness when having taken refuge from the scorching sun, is considerably diminished by the swarms of flies and mosquitoes which buzz about our ears. They are attracted by the gardens and rice grounds, which harbour *myriads* of them. Poor Bradford was as usual their peculiar victim; and before he quitted Rosetta, he discovered that the chief plagues of his existence "les pouces," had received a very powerful reinforcement from a tribe which he had never before encountered. At first he attributed the circumstance to our having slept at the khan in the desert, among the donkey-saddles: but when he observed the favourite occupation of the sailors and other people on the quay, and remarked that, in strict conformity with the Mohammedan law,—when they had taken a prisoner, instead of putting him to death, they simply cast him from them, he began seriously to suspect that some of these unsightly gentry had strayed from them to him; or in other words, that they had migrated from Arabia to America! This was no doubt the case; for it is impossible to escape *this* one of Pharaoh's punishments. A person may reside, but no one can *travel* in Egypt without being annoyed, more or less, by these domesticated little animals; for they have no respect to persons, and having once taken up their abode with you, they evince but little desire to depart. Confessedly, to

Europeans this is very disgusting; but in Egypt, there is no remedy for it; and by degrees we get used to it, as we do to many other inconveniences. Horrible as it may seem, the actual annoyance is not so great as that occasioned by the mosquitoes, and the two black tribes so common in Europe, and which are peculiarly well favoured and prolific in Egypt,—verily, a most important adjunct to the army of Liliputian tormentors which conspire against the comforts of man. Four-and-twenty hours' neglect will materially add to their numbers; and although attention to cleanliness may prevent such increase, it will not banish them entirely.

The gardens of Rosetta are enclosed by walls. They contain abundance of the orange, citron, and banana; also the henneh, the pomegranate, and the towering palm, whose elegant and gracefully drooping branches resemble ostrich feathers; but all are huddled together indiscriminately, without either taste or judgment. These gardens are watered by means of the Persian wheel. They are the favorite resort of the Arabs, who sit there for hours smoking and sipping coffee, sheltered from the intense heat of the sun. The quay exhibits a lively and agreeable scene. A variety of people are constantly passing, and the boatmen, when they have nothing else to do, may be seen discussing their gains in groups upon the ground, or relating their adventures at some neighbouring khan. The place itself is broad, and kept in tolerable order; and there is generally a pretty fair exhibition of d'germs and cand'gias of all shapes and sizes, some laden with cotton, others with wood; some with grain, and some bringing fish from the Bogaz. Rosetta also receives the name of "Raschid," after the celebrated "Khalif Haroun al Raschid," who is supposed to

have been born there. The view of the opposite side of the river, the commencement of the far-famed Delta, the paradise of Egypt, is interesting. The land is quite flat, but cultivated; and among the long groves of dates, are to be seen the Arab villages, with their square flat-roofed dwellings, or a few more miserable, windowless, mud huts, of a conical shape, and not unlike pigeon-cotes, of which there are also not a few; and here and there, a Persian wheel worked by oxen, irrigates the land. Nearly opposite the town, is the small island of Sarshes, which is very productive in corn, and has been used as a lazaretto during the time of the plague; the river runs boldly, and altogether, the panorama is interesting and novel, and gives the stranger a very fair, general idea of the scenery of Lower Egypt. I do not wonder that the people choose this spot as a refuge from the gloomy, dull buildings of the town; for here they may sit under cover, and enjoy each other's society in quiet and repose. I was much delighted to behold them assembled in the evening, in circular groups, inhaling dense clouds of tobacco smoke, and listening attentively to one more venerable than the rest, who still kept up the old custom of reading aloud some favorite national legend, or work of the imagination. He was evidently respected by the whole party, and no doubt well remunerated for his trouble, as things go in the East. This is the only species of theatre to be found among the Arabs, and it was thrown open to the passing stranger, who might or might not leave a trifle for the amusement he received.

Coffee was passed round, and the whole assembly observed the strictest silence, except when occasionally the unusual distortion of the performer's features, the

vehemence of his expression, or the wit of the piece, called forth their admiration. Even then, however, it must not be supposed that they all indulged in laughter, or other loud symbol of their satisfaction. By no means!—and it was easy to distinguish the Arab from the Turk, not only by his appearance, and the peculiar folds of his turban, but by the different manner in which this exhibition affected him. The Arab is more lively and animated; he does not hesitate to give vent to his feelings by observations, and thinks it nothing derogatory to indulge in laughter. The Turk, on the contrary, sits still, squat upon his haunches, seldom looking up but when his exhausted pipe reminds him that exertion is necessary; he is mute as the grave, and looks on in apparent apathy; and when others laugh or talk, he so far departs from his habitual gravity, as to turn up his eyes; and taking the pipe a moment from his lips, strokes his beard, and ejaculates as usual, "Maschallah!—Taieeb!—Allah!—Ayoub!—Ouakbar!—Ad'gioiva!"* and so forth, taking a few puffs at the fragrant weed between each exclamation!

Rosetta, in 1806, became the mausoleum of hundreds of our brave countrymen who fell a sacrifice to the ill-judged policy which induced England to send an expedition against Egypt at the time that we were at war with Turkey, without properly considering how her plans were to be carried into effect, and judging too lightly of Mussulmaun prowess. Perhaps she was flushed with the success of the previous campaign against the French, and thought that the power of the Mamlûks and Turks was not of a nature to hold out against her, were they even so disposed. She was most grievously deceived as to numbers, and miscalculated as to

* Praise be to God!—Good! Excellent!—God!—Wonderful!—

the co-operation of the Mamlûk Beys. A mere handful of men was sent out, I believe not more than 7000, a force by no means adequate to the task assigned: and the command was given to General Fraser.

The unfortunate issue of the mission is pretty well known. Alexandria surrendered, but the Turks being afterwards re-inforced by the Mamlûks, the British troops were shot down in the streets of Rosetta without mercy: for the enemy having taken possession of the windows, were themselves protected from danger; they could inflict the blow unperceived, and take a deliberate aim. Thus we lost many excellent officers; and most of the brave little army were slaughtered. Very few returned to England without wounds. Of those who were made prisoners, many were murdered; the rest were sent into the interior, as common slaves, and were treated in the most barbarous manner, numbers of them dying on the march, either on account of their wounds, fatigue, and heat, or for want of sustenance. The English have therefore good reason to remember Rosetta.

The entrance to the Nile from the sea, is impeded by an extensive shoal-bar: which renders the navigation there extremely dangerous. Merchandize is usually embarked in d'germs of moderate size, and it is then transferred, outside the bar, into larger craft, for convenience sake as well as security. I cannot suppose that there is any such thing as insurance in Egypt, for it would prove rather a doubtful speculation. The Arabs are very cunning, and being excellent swimmers, might be tempted to upset the boat in order to be revenged upon their employers, when they dared, or with a view of giving their nimble

"compatriotes alliés" an opportunity of trying their skill at diving for the goods! There is a castle on either side of the entrance to the port, and on the eastern bank, a small village; the long narrow island of Sarshes, with its magazines of corn, is seen stretching along the middle of the river, before the town of Rosetta; and the latter, with its picturesque minarets, appears to rise from the midst of beautiful gardens and orchards, the whole being inclosed, as it were, by groves of elegant palms, and bulwarks of the prickly-pear, bordering on the desert, which in some other parts, extends even to the water's edge. The river empties itself into the sea about five miles below the town, where it is about half a mile in width. It continues broad for a considerable distance, and the sail up to Rosetta is very pretty. On the right, in ascending, is Fort St. Julien: and the eye is further relieved by the picturesque situation of the barracks and some Frank dwellings, variously inclosed and surrounded by plantations. The chief of these, at this period, formed the summer retreat of Mr. Barker the English Consul-general. The spot is delightfully interspersed with gardens, in which are cultivated not only the vine, the pear, and the peach, but also the cucumber, the potato and the almond, the fig, the olive, and the pomegranate. In the immediate neighbourhood, a good deal of clover is also grown, which is very refreshing to the eye, particularly of those who in passing from Alexandria, have had little else to gaze upon but the parched sand of the Desert. This is the "Bersim" of the Egyptians. The chateau of the Consul being contiguous to the fortress and the barracks, I had a favourable opportunity of remarking the musical talents of the Arabs. Mohammed Ali

has had these people instructed by French Professors, and they certainly do credit to their teachers; their performance was most excellent: indeed, if I had not known the fact, I could not have guessed that I was listening to Arabs. Their talent for music is undoubtedly great: their execution is good; they play with taste and feeling, and they evidently take pleasure in it. The fortifications every where on the coast have been lately extended.

Here, as at Alexandria, the feelings are harrowed up by the numbers of unsightly, deformed, and disgusting objects which present themselves in the garb of human beings. The picture is truly a melancholy one; for it consists of squalid wretchedness, filth, and disease of the most loathsome kind; and there are beggars without end: groups of neglected children swarming with flies and vermin, are to be seen, rolling in the dust and debris of deserted buildings, in the obscurer parts of the town; and here and there, the aged and the sick are observed squatting on heaps of dirt and rubbish, and supporting their head upon their knees, or resting their emaciated forms against the tottering wall of their hovel, gazing, with hollow eye and haggard mien, in vacant apathy on all around them.

Rosetta is famous for having yielded the celebrated Tri-linguar stone, at present in the British Museum, and which furnished, through the exertions of Dr. Young and M. Champollion, the chief clue to all the knowledge we at present possess on the subject of the hieroglyphics. It bears three inscriptions of the same import: viz. one in hieroglyphics, another in the ancient vernacular language of Egypt, and a third in the Greek language. These inscriptions record the services which Ptolemy the Fifth had rendered his

country, and were engraved by order of the high priests, when they were assembled at Memphis, for the purpose of investing him with the Royal prerogative.

It is not unlikely, that other specimens of a similar description, recording important events, may be found hereafter. One has already been brought to light by Mr. James Burton, a gentleman to whose indefatigable investigations, founded on scientific acquirements, we are indebted for a great deal of valuable information. When he discovered this Tri-linguar stone, it formed the step of a door of one of the old Mosques at Cairo. He applied immediately to Mohammed Ali about it. The Pascha gave him permission to copy the inscriptions, but refused to let it be removed, upon the plea that it had now become part of a Mosque. This was only a pretext. The French had the ascendancy in this as in other matters; and shortly after, when Mr. Burton pointed out this interesting relic to Champollion, that gentleman did not hesitate to apply to *Ibrahim Pascha*, through the medium of the French consul, and having obtained his Highness' consent, without going either to Mohammed Ali, or to Mr. Burton, carried it off forthwith!!

CHAPTER VI.

DEPARTURE FROM ROSETTA, AND ASCENT OF THE NILE TO FOUAH.

THE "Cand'gias," or boats of the Nile, are, on the average, from about fifteen to thirty feet long. They are generally provided with a raised cabin, having windows on either side. The helmsman usually sits on the roof. There is, besides, in the hull or body, in front of the cabin, sufficient accommodation for one or two servants, cooking utensils, &c.—the crew occupying the forepart of the Cand'gia quite away from the passengers. This species of craft is purposely built rather low at the bows, on account of the sand-banks, which vary as to situation and extent, according to the height of the Nile, and it is provided with one or two masts, and as many latteen, or three-cornered sails, besides a foresail. These are, for the most part, clumsy, and difficult to move, being fixed to heavy arched beams or yards, and very inconvenient to reef.

We hoisted a large British Union-Jack at the stern, which had been lent to us by the Consul-general, and the word was now given to Mohammed to depart; but behold! Monsieur le Reis, etoit deja parti! Mohammed searched up and down the quay, going the round of the cafés, &c. for a good half-hour, in vain. The fellow was nowhere to be found. Our gall was beginning to rise, when two of the crew made their appearance, carrying some flat cakes of Arab bread, but

they either could not, or would not tell what had become of "El Reis!" At last, "omnibus paratis parandis,"—as we thought, the rest of the crew, about six in number, "dropped in," one by one, each bearing a *something*.

The departure of a large Cand'gia generally attracts notice, and particularly when Europeans are on board. We were not surprised, therefore, at seeing a group of people assemble near us on the quay, led, as we supposed, by curiosity. There was no lack of females:—their garments consisted of a blue veil or robe of coarse linen, extending in the Madonna style, from the crown of the head over the back, downwards, and a chemise of the same material, open in front nearly to the waist, which in the East is nothing scandalous, though it would be a reproach to them heedlessly to expose the countenance. With one hand, some held an infant at the breast, or supported a bundle, whilst others were leading a little naked child, or carrying water: the veil being, for the most part, directed obliquely over the face, and held in that position, either by the teeth, or by the other hand. There were many among them, who, instead of this loose flowing veil, wore the hideous black mask, which has been already alluded to. It is usually suspended from the forehead over the nose, by a tape ornamented with beads or shells, and from above which, appear a pair of large, bright, black eyes, rendered still more penetrating by the "pencilled Kohol."* Their

* This is in allusion to the Oriental practice of dyeing the edges of the eyelids of a dark colour, to preserve the sight, as they pretend, but *really* to render the eyes more beautiful. The preparation employed consists of sulphuret of lead, or antimony, minutely powdered and mixed with oil. It is then introduced by means of a fine hair pencil, and certainly does give the eyes a peculiar, and sometimes, a fascinating appearance, particularly when darting forth from the fine snow white linen with which the better orders of Turkish women envelop their heads.

arms were tattooed of a blue colour, so was also the chin, and with some, the cheek and forehead. Moreover, the nails of the fingers and toes were carefully dyed of a reddish brown, or deep pinkish yellow, by means of the "*Henneh*," a practice which is not only very common, but much admired by both sexes.* They wore a variety of ornaments, particularly brass ear-rings, and rings on the fingers, ankles, and toes; beads of glass about the neck; and what particularly struck my notice,—armlets or bracelets made exactly as rings, some of metal, but generally of black horn, and so constructed, that they must have been put on when young, and not taken off since: and now to remove them without cutting them, would be impossible. Those that were made of horn were about an inch broad; and some had two or three on the same arm: they struck me as being very cumbersome, but I believe this practice is of great antiquity, and I have never heard that any other idea is associated with it than that of ornament. The ancient Egyptians are represented in the paintings on the walls of the temples and tombs of Middle and Upper Egypt, wearing similar ornaments; and the objects themselves have even been found among the ruins; some such are in my possession. Besides these women, there were young girls standing about, ten and twelve years of age, who hesitated not to let themselves be seen, and certainly finer forms never were exhibited. They were dressed in all respects like their elders, but without the veil.†

Men of various denominations passed and repassed, and a few seemed to loiter on the spot. We began to

* The powdered leaves are employed for this purpose: they give out a sickly faint odour, are of an olive-green colour, and have the property of tinging substances of a pinkish yellow, or brown, by simple contact.

† See Vol. II. Chap. VI.

be very angry, when the Reis made his appearance, and was immediately surrounded by the aforesaid group, vehemently assailing him with their tongues. I was at a loss to understand the meaning of all this, especially when I observed a woman of somewhat better appearance than the rest, jump into the boat, and take her seat. On enquiry, Mohammed informed me that she was the Captain's wife, and was to be of our party. "Oh, very well," said Bradford, "let her come, provided *she* does not take the *helm !*"

Mohammed was proceeding to explain further, when the subject of his oration was fully developed by the Captain coming on board, which seemed to be the signal for action. A tusselling was commenced by the party on shore, and I expected to see two or three of them knocked into the river. They did not even pay any deference to the ladies, who valiantly put forth their strength in their own defence. One pushed the other away, and was herself displaced; two or three, who had been throughout the foremost of the throng, and the most communicative, to their great mortification, now found themselves "hors de combat," and obliged to retire to the rear, in consequence of the sudden and unforeseen overthrow of all their goods and chattels, which, previous to the onset, had been carefully disposed of, but which were now completely and most effectually unshipped. Lemons were rolling here, —onions there—dates in another place, and the ci-devant bearers of them narrowly escaped being unshipped too; for at this crisis, a general rush was made, and one or two jumped into the boat;—a basket of eggs being upset in the scuffle, and a few broken, rendered the uproar still greater; one poor woman bewailing the loss of her property, not in the most gentle

manner, although she knew not on whom to fix, as the source of her calamity. She was jeered, and rated by some, and others loudly vociferated in her favour. Upon the whole, it was certainly a most ridiculous scene; and we were all of us rude enough to laugh, although it was partly at the expense of the ladies, whose tongues, all this while, were not idle: au contraire, they played their part à merveille; and it was not until there was something like a cessation of hostilities, in consequence of the neglected "Fair ones" feeling un peu d'embarras, at the threatened loss of their stock in trade, (which they beset themselves au moment, most assiduously to collect, and to rescue from the pilfering hands, des garçons voleurs voisins), that there was a pause, or that even the men in the boat, who had been any thing but indifferent spectators, were able to make themselves heard. So great was the commotion, that those who first jumped into the Cand'gia lay sprawling beneath the feet of the Reis, and were unable to extricate themselves, being pressed upon by two athletic females with baskets, who followed close upon them. We began to suspect that our noble captain was *scheming;* so I thought it necessary to enquire if these were also the Captain's wives; if so, how many more we might expect; and I particularly wished to be informed what part their ruder companions played in his harem! Mohammed smiled, and said, that when he was returning to us last, he found this group assembled on the quay, and that, from the import of the words which some let fall, he gathered, especially from the women (and Mohammed was an excellent judge of female eloquence), that they were all going to Fouah, in, forsooth,—"the Cand'gia Frangi," —and that he was proceeding to announce as much,

when the "rumpus" began! By this time, the other women, assisted by the girls who stood gazing by, had gathered all their traps together, save and except a few stray onions, that went floating down the stream, and some lemons, which had also rolled over the parapet; and they were very deliberately approximating the Royal Jack, proposing for once, at all events, in their lives, to put themselves under British protection; they even succeeded in getting on board. But it was now time for us to interfere. One of the sailors had contrived to mount the main-yard unobserved, and unfurl the sail attached to it: the rest were preparing to loose from the moorings, and the Reis himself held the hawser in his hand. Perceiving this, "What! ho!" cried I,—"Avast there! Master Reis! Tale henne!"* The man looked round, as taken by surprise, and instantly obeyed the summons.

As we expected, so it turned out; and his long absence was accounted for. Under the plea of getting provisions, he had gone away to the bazaar, just as he was certain that we meant to depart; but his real object was to proclaim in the public places, that a large Cand'gia was just setting off for Cairo, without cargo, and that he would be glad to take any passengers that would go. Such an opportunity was not to be lost. Numbers flocked down to the landing-place, no doubt accustomed to such sudden apprisals; and when they saw the colours flying, and the preparations making for our departure, they would fain have embarked without delay; but as soon as the Reis made his appearance, they were to be restrained no longer. As he had bargained with more than he could take, a regular scuffle began; might became right, and then it was that the

* Come here.

ludicrous catastrophe of the onions, and the eggs, and the lemons, took place. This is a very common trick with the Signori Capitani in this part of the world, and they require to be well watched, or they will take every kind of advantage. They are honest; that is, they will not rob; but they strike a hard bargain, and afterwards make as much as they can, availing themselves of the least indulgence, and making the most of it. They are a well-disposed people enough in their way, but they must be guided by a tight rein, or, like the rest of their tribe, they will get the bit between their teeth, and run away with you outright.

In the present instance, the man acknowledged his fault: he knew that we had paid him his price for the Cand'gia, and that it was great impertinence to presume to put any body else on board, without leave. We had live stock enough already; for what with galline, marinari, passeggieri, pulice, scorpioni, mosche, e diversi altri animali, piccoli e grandi, we were not likely to be dull for want of company; and we had intruders enough already, without adding to the number.

The Reis begged hard that we would allow them to remain,—that they were "not going far, &c.," but we were deaf to his entreaties; for just at that moment, Bradford's quick eye happened to alight upon one of the newly imported party, (now snugly arranged, all right, ready for a cruize), and unfortunately for the whole, saw him busily engaged (thinking it no sin), scrutinizing with microscopic discernment, the critical condition of his nether garment, which was "sore beset," and not of the most exquisite nature in itself. But when once roused to a sense of the risk we incurred, the longer these people were suffered to

remain on board, he broke forth with all the vehemence of which he was master. He called my attention to the disgusting spectacle, and turning to Mohammed, he exclaimed, "Via! Via! mandate via, questi genti barbari, sporci! subito, Mohammed!—Sentite? presto! Via! Via!"—"Si, Signor, si!"—for the Reis still continued earnestly to address Mohammed on the subject of their own affairs; (natheless this had been a preconcerted arrangement between them), but he found himself compelled to submit; and so withdrew to announce the sad intelligence.

The noise which ensued upon this may easily be imagined: they began slowly to depart; and had it not been for the presence of the crew, it is not improbable that master Reis would have been favoured with a cold bath for his pains. Mohammed explained to them that we had never been consulted; so they were satisfied as far as we were concerned. But what made the business worse, was, that as they went ashore, one by one, those who had been prevented coming on board, now made sport of them; but it had the effect of diverting their attention from the Reis, who, looking very foolish, began to put matters in order. We gave him permission to let the three women who were going to Fouah, (which was only a short distance), remain; with an understanding, however, that he should, on no account, attempt to put any body else on board when he landed them. Mohammed also conveyed our gallant message to the ladies, who, not a little pleased at this mark of our favor, cast a smiling, grateful look towards the "Howadd'giah Frangi."

The delay which this affair had occasioned, was the

means of introducing us to a Frank, who now made his appearance on the quay. He was an elderly person, by birth a German, and introduced himself to our notice through the medium of Mohammed; having heard among others, that some Franks were going to Cairo, and that if he liked, he might accompany them. He arrived just in the midst of all the bustle; and during the fracas, could not get near enough to be heard; but as soon as silence was restored, we learned that he was a traveller like ourselves, but unacquainted with the language, and alone; and that he had no means of continuing his journey pleasantly, unless he hired a Cand'gia to himself. We of course offered him a place with us; and the voyage was rendered more agreeable by his presence. We found him a very amiable, well-informed, old gentleman; and as I had passed a year and a half in Germany, and was acquainted with the habits, views, and language of his countrymen, I was enabled to pay him some attention; and he "blessed his stars" that he had met with us. We soon felt interested in him; for he was one of those venerable persons that we sometimes meet with, who, without any definite object, are led to travel through the world, when they may expect soon to be called out of it.

The old man was quite ready to embark; and we fairly took him under our protection; so Mohammed was sent to help him bring down his baggage. On their return we unmoored, and in two minutes, reached the middle of the stream.

It would never have done to have yielded to the Reis in this matter; for the fraternity are, on all such occasions, so encroaching, that the only way to keep them within bounds is, to be peremptory; but if

at the outset, they are allowed to gain their point, they may give the traveller a great deal of trouble. Besides, we should have been delayed perhaps at every village, and must have made as many stoppages in the course of the trip, as a Blackwall omnibus! We were therefore obliged to steel our hearts against all but the ladies, who seemed to be very decent, becoming people in their way, and conducted themselves well.

We soon got clear of the town, and ascended against the stream, with our two large latteen sails, at the rate of about six miles an hour, under a light north-westerly breeze. The general appearance of the river is somewhat different from either the Rhine or the Danube, though I know nothing with which so well to compare it, (at least, this part of it), as with the scenery in some parts of Flanders; yet away from the great cities on the banks of the Meuse, and other large rivers. Just above the town, to the southward, rises a sandy mound bordering on the Desert, and it was rather curious to observe the tombs and mosques mixed up with the date and orange plantations, sycamores, and rice-grounds, and the long flowing robes of the women, who were engaged in the pious office of strewing herbs over the graves of their husbands and relatives. The people of Rosetta are generally well disposed, and we cannot help regretting at parting from them, that so little is done really to better their condition.

Rosetta was once included in the Delta, and considered a portion of the Egyptian Paradise; but now it is neglected, and left, like every thing else in the country, to take its chance. Both sides of the river present much the same kind of scenery; for the

country is so flat, that there is scarcely an object on which to fix the eye, except here and there, the cupola of a "Kubbe," (the tomb of some saint,) with perhaps one or two palm-trees overshadowing it, and affording an indifferent shelter to the pious, who come there to pray. The bed of the Nile, being somewhat above the level of the land on either side, enables one to see about a league, that is, one mile only beyond the common point of sight. Almost the only appearance which there is of cultivation, is on the right bank of the river, and the view of this is often obstructed by the lofty bulrushes and reeds, which abound for a considerable distance;—a few isolated palms are now and then to be seen, or a long line of them flanking a wretched mud-village, and interspersed with the dwellings, which are either square, and flat-roofed, or else of the form of bee-hives: and most of them are without windows. They are all built on an artificial elevation: nevertheless the inhabitants are often obliged to desert them during the period of high Nile,—returning to them as soon as the waters have abated: that is, if they have not been washed away.

About two miles from Rosetta, at an angle formed by the course of the river, a very neat, picturesque building presents itself—the Mosque of "Abou Mandour." It has a dome or cupola, and a minaret; and both from its situation, and from its intrinsic merit, it is really pretty. A convenient coffee-house has been built near it for the accommodation of visitors. This is a place of fashionable resort for all parties, but especially for the Franks resident at Rosetta; they make excursions hither in boats, and here they sit and enjoy themselves in the summer evenings, smoking their pipes, and drinking sherbet, whilst reclining at

their ease, with the whole beauty of the Nile before them. The spot commands a most extensive view both up and down the stream.

The town of Rosetta is also conspicuous by its tapering minarets, and the masts of the collective d'germs. Denon supposes that the elbow of land on which the mosque of "Abou Mandour" is situated, marks the site of the ancient "Bolbitinum;" I am not aware that any particular remains have ever been found that could lead to the idea; but the situation would be most eligible for a city, and it is not unlikely to have been the case. In this district, sheltered by the rushes, are immense numbers of frogs of a most astonishing size; and they make such a loud croaking towards evening, that they may be heard at a very considerable distance. Near the villages too, are to be seen, cooling themselves in the water, groups of buffaloes; they stand or lie down, immersed in the river; and no part of them is to be seen but the head, or tip of the nose: and in this way, they obtain some protection from the flies, which, at other times, persecute this harmless animal terribly. I have seen them settle upon their eyes and nostrils in such numbers, that, almost mad with irritation, they have been compelled thus to plunge into the water, as the only means of escape; and there they lie for hours together;—swarms of these insects even then, darkening the atmosphere in the immediate neighbourhood of their heads, which they are obliged to dip under at intervals, in order to be rid of their implacable enemy, which is sure to return with the morning sun.

The scenery varies little the whole way between Rosetta and Cairo: the Delta side being always more green and pleasing than that of Libya. The Indian

corn, the D'hourra (a farinaceous grain), Rice, and Tobacco, are chiefly cultivated; and the land is irrigated by means of the Persian wheel, the construction of which is generally understood. However, it is a simple wheel, turned by oxen; and, as it revolves, the earthen jars which are attached to it, are filled with water, and again emptied into a trough upon the banks, and so conveyed inland—and the gardens are supplied. These wheels are kept constantly going, and the prosperity and happiness of Egypt depend mainly upon them;—they are tended by the fellahs, or peasantry, and they are in use throughout the whole country.

A short distance to the north of Fouah, on the Libyan side, is the entrance of what has been described as an old canal; but it is, I believe, more properly speaking, the entrance of the Canopic branch of the Nile. On its banks, is situated the town of Deirût, with its huts of sun-dried bricks and d'hourra straw. During the period at which this branch existed, and when the famous cities of Canopus, Heraclium, and the rest were in their glory, no doubt the town of Fouah, if such a town *there* were, was in its glory too. It was a place of some moment, even in the sixteenth century; but its trade was subsequently transferred to Rosetta. The tables are again turned, and Fouah, which is about twenty-five miles above the latter, is evidently once more rising in importance. It has become populous, and owes its present flourishing condition (if I may so speak) to its connection with the canal of Mahmoudieh, and the consequent falling-off of Rosetta. When we shortened sail, and came alongside the quay, for the purpose chiefly of putting our female companions ashore, we were immediately surrounded by beggars; and a variety of individuals soli-

cited our Drogueman (who passed for a great man, being dressed á la Janisaire), that he would intercede with us in their behalf, for *they* too wished to mount the Nile, and we began to see that we had acted properly, by refusing to let the Reis bring the tribe of people with him as he had arranged; for he would now have expected the same indulgence, and we should have had plenty of company all the way. The fellahs brought us a quantity of things for sale, and almost thrust them into the boat, which they would assuredly not have done, had we been Turks: they would rather have carried them a mile the other way; for the Turks either purchase goods at their own price, which is much below their value, or they do not pay at all, and perhaps give the venders of them a beating gratis! The quay was quite in a bustle, and afforded a specimen of a good market. We saw there a variety of vegetables and fruits, (particularly the "pastek," or water-melon), that were about to be forwarded to Alexandria by the canal. The melons looked so tempting, that we purchased some. This is a most delicious fruit, especially in a hot country; and in the desert, it is, without exception, the greatest luxury I know of. It is very large, and of a mottled, greenish yellow colour externally; when cut into, it discharges a quantity of aqueous fluid of the most exquisite flavour, cool and refreshing, neither sweet nor insipid: the interior, which is of a fungous or spongy appearance, is soft and granular, and of a pinkish tint; it is very fragrant, and melts in the mouth. An Arab thinks nothing of eating a water-melon at one sitting; but then it should be recollected, that this, with a piece of bread, suffices for a meal. If we would be content to do likewise, we also might not find it too much; but if we eat a quan-

tity of so solid a fruit, after a sumptuous dinner of fish, flesh, and fowl, we cannot be surprised if we find the inconvenience of it. In like manner, I have repeatedly seen an Arab eating a cucumber, as boys would eat an apple, without paring it; and the cucumbers in Egypt, grow to an immense size. The people's curiosity was very much excited, and they crowded round us in great numbers, calling out continually "Backscheesh! Backscheesh! ap Howadd'giah! Backscheesh!* This was particularly the case with the children, who asked for money often from roguishness. Many of them were quite naked, and running about or rolling in the dirt, perfectly unrestrained. The tout ensemble, as viewed from the water, presented a curious scene, and abundant matter for the study of a Hogarth or a Wilkie. In the fore-ground, in front of the picturesque Cand'gias, with their bent and taper yards, was a strange admixture of objects, and the grouping was perhaps still more strange: Arab boatmen and beggars; naked children, and women dressed in their long, loose, blue chemises and veil, bare-foot, and closely talking with each other, and vending cheese, and bread, and eggs, or passing on their way together, holding aslant the linen robe which partly hides their features from the gaze of man: merchandise in bales, or baskets—fruit—vegetables, and fowls: a wandering dog, perhaps, groping among the rubbish, half daring to approach, and half afraid, looking wistfully at the busy, chattering crew preparing their supper, watching impatiently the setting sun, and casting an anxious eye towards the neighbouring minaret, ready to fall to immediately on the well-known sound of the Muezzin's voice. The shaggy, bare-ribbed,

* Backscheesh means a present, and the term Howadd'giah is derived, I believe, from the Persian, and signifies Sir, or Master, as applicable to a superior, and we hear it constantly in Egypt.

mangy brute, sniffing the savoury odour, and skulking at times too near, reaps many an unkind blow, and angry kick, "because the sun moves on so tardily;" or, he is compelled to beat a sudden and a quick retreat, to avoid the coming missile, and seems, by his pitiful look, well to understand that now is the time of the great feast, or rather fast, of "Rhamad'han,"* and that *he* too, although an unclean infidel, must wait the sun's decline and setting, ere a stray bone may give him a chance of picking even *his* scanty meal.

Further off, may be seen a long line of camels proceeding with their burdens instinctively along, one after the other, with slow and measured step; and nearer at hand, a truly interesting group of girls, and young women fetching water in long, cylindrical earthen jars, which they carry on their shoulders, or on the head; and it is curious to observe with what adroitness they do it. It never happened to me to see one of them meet with an accident: they move on gracefully and slowly, talking carelessly the whole time, and seldom even seem to trip, although the ground is so irregular and rough; for as the toes are unrestrained, they are free to perform the duties of their office, and we may presume, are seldom visited by any of those disagreeable, *hard-hearted*, troublesome little intruders, called corns, which are often the unwelcome monitors of persons, who, like the Chinese, are the enthusiastic admirers of a pretty foot. Confinement, however, and pressure, it would seem, are not always sufficient or necessary to prevent exuberance of growth;

* The Fast of the Rhamad'han lasts a month, and during its continuance, it is unlawful for Mussulmauns to eat *after sun-rise, or before sun-set*. They ought to pray frequently, but they make up for their fasting; for no sooner does the sun dip below the horizon, than that moment they begin, and often revel until after midnight.

but where, as in the present instance, there is no excrescence or untoward alteration of structure, the pruning knife is not required. The foot of these swarthy damsels takes a firm and natural hold upon the ground: they walk perfectly upright, and what may surprise some to hear, their gait is as dignified, and their form as elegant and attractive, as they possibly could be, under all the advantages of the "Ecole des Graces," at Paris. This leads me to speak of the Oriental females generally. Happily for them, they are ignorant of the thraldom of (what we understand by) "fashionable" life; for restraint would ill suit with the climate in which they live. Content with the qualifications which nature has given them, they are little disposed to sacrifice their comfort and enjoyment, for the substitution of practices which have nothing but novelty to recommend them, which are at variance with their feelings, and (it may be) the result of a perverted taste. They are too much lovers of their ease, to stifle natural inclinations, and to have recourse to artificial contrivances which, however acceptable they may be rendered by habit, are often painful to endure, cramp and deform the body, and generate diseases which are altogether unknown among savage nations; and which are only to be met with in "civilized" Europe!

I am at all times ready to acknowledge the superior excellence of my fair countrywomen, whose personal attractions have called forth the admiration of every foreigner. But if they are renowned for their beauty, they are still more celebrated for their virtues; and it is my sincere regard for their happiness which induces me to hint at the evils which they sometimes bring upon themselves and their offspring, by adopting cus-

toms which are likely to compromise their health. All extremes, whether in regard to dress or habits, are bad. Women have justly been denominated the "suffering sex;" but the ills which they were designed by Providence to bear, are frequently increased by the adoption of pernicious customs; and it is melancholy to advert to the relative nature of female complaints, and the causes of death, among Europeans, and in the countries of the East. In regard to the former, the evil is often the result of their own seeking; whereas, in uncivilized lands, the designs of Nature being for the most part uninterrupted, all her ends are accomplished with comparatively little difficulty, and on the occasions to which I more particularly allude, the interposition of medical aid is seldom requisite; the harems, not only in Egypt, but in Turkey, Syria, Persia, and other parts of the East, are invariably attended by females. As a medical man, I might enlarge upon this subject, but I shall conclude by observing, that it is a great mistake to suppose that *climate* has anything to do in the matter. It is my decided opinion that the advantages enjoyed by the females of all uncivilized nations over those of Europe, are to be referred to this;—that the constitution is seldom enervated by unnatural restrictions, or debilitating habits; neither is the capacity of the body liable to be cramped or diminished by artificial refinements. It is early education which does the mischief, and the murderous contrivances of Parisian wisdom, together with late hours, anxiety, and excitement, indolence, and want of air and exercise.

It is pretty generally known, that the inhabitants of the Caribbee Islands completely flatten the forehead of their children at birth, by means of a metallic plate and a bandage, which are not removed until that shape

is obtained which is most admired.* Now if these ignorant people are to be condemned as savages because they are dissatisfied with the form which Nature has given them, and (like the horse in Lessing's fable) are simple enough to imagine that they can improve it,—what must be thought of those Europeans who, with a view of rendering the shape of their children more congenial with their taste, diminish the natural growth, and contract the frame, compressing the body to such an extent, that at times they can scarcely breathe?—thus not only injuring their health, but so distorting the figure, that after death, the effects of art may even be detected in the skeleton!

We should be considered Goths not to admire the works of the celebrated artizans of Greece; because they are so exquisite in form, and so true to Nature! Just so it is in regard to the elegant, flowing robes of Oriental nations, which make such pretty pictures, and afford a lively contrast with the tight, formal costumes of the North. But habit reconciles us to any thing: whatever the eye is unaccustomed to, appears strange; and Fashion and Prejudice teach us to admire even that which is ridiculous, and often monstrous; for we regard it with a partial eye. Thus we laugh at the Chinese ladies and call them cripples, because they are averse to locomotion; we discover no charms in club feet, pencilled eye-brows, flat noses, and black teeth: they, on the other hand, wonder at our want of taste; they think our European beauties "ugly," because their eyes are soft and sparkling, and their com-

* For further information on this subject, consult "Humboldt's Personal Narrative," vol. iii. p. 286; "Edwards' History of the West Indies." vol. i. p. 411; "Journal de Physique," August 1791, p. 132, Tables 1, 2, in which figures of the bandages are given; "Labat, Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique," t. ii. p. 72.

plexions fair and fresh; they call them vulgar for presuming to walk, and charge them with everything that is bad, because they expose their features to view, and wear no veil in the house. We turn in disgust from the contemplation of those who cut and carve their faces, distort their ears and lips, and pierce them with a sword, or wear huge rings in the nostrils: but these things only offend the eye, and do comparatively little harm: they are trifles, and all that we can say about them is, that they who do such things, *possess a curious taste;* but some of our modern European practices are ten times more severely felt, and more terrible in their consequences than any of these.

It is the duty of a traveller to describe with becoming frankness, the manners and customs of the various countries through which he may have occasion to pass, and to draw from them such deductions and comparisons as may tend to the improvement of his readers. Whenever I venture an opinion, I desire to act impartially, and to adhere to truth. However sensible I may be, therefore, of the merits of my own countrywomen, I have not refrained from censuring such of their habits as I consider inimical to their well being. In sounding the praise of those who, it must be acknowledged, appear in all the perfection of form which, we are led to suppose, distinguished our first parents and their immediate descendants, I am bound to express my sorrow that any of those in Europe, for whom Nature has done quite as much, should compromise their happiness and that of mankind, by the adoption of practices which tend not a little to degenerate the human race.*

* Vide Chap. VII., also Vol. II. Chap. VI. See some admirable remarks on Physical Education, with illustrations by Professor Soemmering, in the Penny Magazine for 1838, No. 58, and the Penny Cyclopœdia: Cap. "Corset."

CHAPTER VII.

FROM FOUAH TO BAKKARAH—THE PASCHA'S AVARICE —SCRIPTURE ILLUSTRATIONS—CLIMATE, SICKNESS AND HEALTH — DIETETICS — EGYPTIAN DANCING-GIRLS—POLYGAMY—ANCIENT REMAINS—CANALS OF LOWER EGYPT—THE NATRON LAKES, ETC.

As the wind was in our favor, we determined to proceed the same evening to Rahmanieh, a town on the opposite bank of the river, chiefly important as a military station, and from its locality, being close to the new canal of Mahmoudieh. But we were de tained a little, in consequence of the importunities of the unfortunate. In Mohammedan countries, the approach of a physician is always regarded as an auspicious event. His arrival is anticipated, and one case successfully treated, is sure to bring him plenty of patients, wherever he goes. Where there is so much misery, it is difficult to resist the appeals which are made to our philanthropy; and on this, as on many other occasions, we felt the inconvenience or advantage arising from *a name*. The fame of "El H'akkim" had extended to the hovels of the town; and the sick, the halt, the deaf, and the blind, were led down or carried, without discrimination, to the spot where our Cand'gia was moored. I soon found that it would be impossible to listen to the sorrows of the multitude of wretched beings which crowded around me, as I dispensed such aid as was in my power, to those who

appeared to need it most. Some came behind and touched me with superstitious veneration, or seizing the hem of my garment with eagerness, kissed it imploringly, whilst others offered up a prayer to Allah in my behalf: and it was not until the first words of the Muezzin from the minaret announced the decline of day, that I was reminded we had still somewhat to perform.* We found the Arab custom of abstaining from food during the great heat, always most congenial with our feelings; and now that it was Rhamad'han we even dined an hour later than usual; thus seeming to conform to the views and habits of the people with whom we were. The sound of the Muezzin's voice therefore was to me the grateful "note of preparation," as well as to the pious Mussulmaun, who proceeded, as the sun descended in his course, to dip his hands and feet into the river; and having performed his ablutions, directed his face towards Mecca, and engaged in prayer. I, among the rest, was glad to avail myself of an excuse to withdraw from the busy crowd; for I really began to feel exhausted, and I saw plainly that I should have no lack of patients as long as I was willing to lend an ear to their complaints. An ordinary excuse might have availed me little. I called their attention therefore to the Muez-

* The cry of the Muezzin is monotonous but solemn: particularly during the stillness of night, when it adds very much to the peculiar sensations which an Oriental climate never fails to excite. It has been well illustrated more than once, by Sir Walter Scott, who with his usual accuracy of delineation, alludes to it in "The Talisman," vol. iv. p. 183. It consists in a general appeal to the providence of God. For the most part, the same words are used: and little reaches the ear, but "Allah! Allah! il Allah!" and now and then a short passage from the Khoran. Sir Walter gives the words in English very correctly. "To prayer—to prayer! God is the one God! To prayer—to prayer! Mohammed is the prophet of God! To prayer—to prayer! Time is flying from you! To prayer—to prayer! Judgment is drawing nigh to you! Prayer is better than sleep! Blessed be God!"

zin's prayers, and pointed to the horizon in the west, which was still burning from the sun's effulgent rays. I bade them implore the assistance of the Almighty, and commend themselves to *His* care, and that "Insch-'allah!"* they would get well; albeit, I knew that many of them were incurable. But it was the only way to get rid of them, and I was very glad to make my escape. We also performed our ablutions before meat, but with very different motives from those which influenced the Arabs; and although the doctrines of our religion prescribe less of outward form, I will not say that we were ever unmindful of the blessings bestowed upon us, or that we partook of them with less grateful hearts. At one end of the Cand'gia might be seen the Arab boatmen squatting in a circle with the Reis, before an immense platter of boiled rice and butter, a dish of stewed onions, a melon, and some bread, and perhaps a little meat to mix with the pilaf, it being now the time of Rhamad'han. All eat out of the same dish, and use their fingers. Their meal they soon dispatch, and rising up as they finish, take the large wooden bowl with which they ladle the water out of the boat, like our English sailors, dip it into the river and drink a pretty copious draught of the refreshing stream, concluding the ceremony with a second washing, (very necessary for the Reis, and all who wear a beard,) and another prayer. After this, they seat themselves about the rigging, or on shore, in groups, to enjoy the grateful pipe, and a little repose after the fatigues of the day. They are well able to appreciate the kindness of the Franks, and being, for the time, attached to an European Cand'gia, they are protected from many annoyances which they would

* God willing!

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otherwise be liable to. The boatmen of the Nile are not *generally* taken for soldiers or sailors. Mohammed Ali is aware that it is more to his interest to let them follow their avocation uninterruptedly, with this exception only, that the soldiers are allowed to seize on almost any private Cand'gia under the pretext of its being wanted for the Pascha's service. None but Europeans can ever make sure that the journey which they undertake will be freely accomplished, on this account; and hence arises the necessity of hoisting the colours of England or France, which are as well known in Lower Egypt, as those of the Pascha himself.

We obtained here some most excellent Arab bread: it was made into round, flat cakes, very white and sweet, light, and wholesome: better I never wish to partake of. The Delta has always been famous for its wheat; but we are led to believe that the flour of the ancients was coarser, and that their bread resembled biscuit. Wheat seems to be peculiarly indigenous to Egypt; the country not only produces an abundant crop, both of the European and Indian wheat, but also the wheat which is alluded to in the Scriptures, as having "seven ears upon one stalk."* It must not be supposed that this circumstance was an exaggeration, because it was beheld by the king *in a dream:* in times of abundance, this plant *does* actually bring forth, in the present day, seven-fold! and a most beautiful plant it is. I have seen it, for I happened to be in Egypt during one most prolific season: and yet that very year, the people endured the most incredible miseries. The avarice of the Pascha seemed to increase with the harvest. He seized the grain wherever he could find a pretext for so doing: he gathered

* Genesis, xli. 5.

it into his barns, and permitted none of his suffering, famished vassals, to enjoy the blessings which the munificence of Providence had bestowed upon them. He was even wicked enough to set forth that there was a famine in the land, and made this the excuse for prohibiting the exportation of grain by others; nevertheless, when it suited his purpose, he exported it himself. It is perfectly well known that there was no famine, but of his own creating. Acting however on this plea, he not only withheld the good grain, and sold musty flour mixed with horse-beans to the people, at an enormous price; but wishing at the same time not to offend the Franks, at the suggestion of his worthy counsellor Boghos Youssouff, he consented to the importation of a *little* grain from Malta, but *solely for their use.* This was only done to give a colouring to the affair; because in a general way, corn is not allowed to be imported. I am borne out in these assertions by others, and their evidence will perhaps give more weight to my statements than the re-iteration of facts witnessed by myself.* It is really impossible to

* "The revenues," says Monsieur L. Bousquet Deschamps, "which might easily be augmented by one-third, are now sensibly diminished by the deplorable situation to which the foolish prodigality of their ruler has reduced this people. The more abundant the crops, the more their misery augments: for Mohammed Ali increases his extensive operations in proportion to the resources he expects from the sale of his produce, exports a greater quantity, exacts from the peasant all that he has, and even more than he has, and abundant years are most frequently observed to be accompanied by a dearth."*

"In 1829," says a very able countryman of our own, "there was a great dearth in Egypt, particularly at Rosetta. The people died of hunger, while a horrible and unheard of fact—mountains of grain, destined to the speculations of Mohammed Ali, sprouted in the open air, before the eyes of the inhabitants, who had not the permission to purchase any of it. It was not until the grain was spoiled that it was sold to them, with the prohibition to procure any other. Alexandria and Cairo were equally subjected to this tyrannical measure. The government first sold half wheat and half barley, mixed together; the wheat

* "Deux Mots sur l'Egypte," Smyrna, 1832.

convey anything like an adequate idea of the wretchedness which exists at times. I have no hesitation in asserting that I saw people *starving* in the public streets. Travellers may write, but in a country like England, their statements will hardly be credited; especially as these unfortunate creatures were actually in a land of plenty, surrounded by every luxury, the crops rotting before their eyes, and yet they dared not help themselves, to satisfy the common cravings of hunger.

Had Mohammed Ali been forewarned in a dream, like Pharaoh of old, that there should come "first seven years of great plenty, and afterwards seven years of famine" throughout Egypt?‡—was it his destiny to be apprized beforehand, that the famine should be "very grievous," and that it should "consume the land?" If so, it was only discreet and wise to lay up

was afterwards stopped, and mouldy beans were substituted. This continued for about three or four months, and corn was contraband throughout Egypt. Some wheat was even imported from Syria by private speculation, a thing unknown in Egypt since the famine of Ismaen Bey: but a heavy duty put a stop to the promised relief."*

Madame St. Elme, who was in the Delta at this very period, gives a most affecting picture of the wretched condition of the people. She beheld a poor woman sitting on the ground with two children, whose squalid, wasted forms, made a silent but heart-rending appeal to the sympathy of all present. One of the children was an infant in arms, sick, and famished; the other was ready to expire by her side, and when the question was asked why she did not give her baby the breast, the mother cast a wild and terrible look at the speaker, and replied, "It would be better that the child were dead, for he has been a very long time ill; we have nothing to support ourselves, and my milk is dried up." A dollar being then placed in her hand, a convulsive shudder escaped her; she seized the two infants, pressed them eagerly to her bosom, and placing the hand of her benefactress upon her forehead in token of submission, she departed with hurried steps, expressing her gratitude as she went. And our authoress concludes with these words: that "If this country were well cultivated, it would enrich its possessors; whereas it is at present nothing but the sterile patrimony of the unfortunate Arab, who is *dying in despair and misery!*"†

‡ Genesis, xli. 29, 30, 31.

* See the Literary Gazette, No. 839, Dec. 8, 1832.

† La Contemporaine en Egypte, tom I, p. 311.

rich stores of "corn, and wine, and oil;" but, was it for this that *he* "appointed officers over the land," and that he "gathered all the food," and "laid up corn," and "kept the food in the cities?"—was it in order that the food should be as "a store to the *land*," that the people "perish not through famine?* Certainly not. He may have had *dreams* of future greatness; but, it is pretty evident, from what has since transpired, that he was making preparations for the assertion of his independence. The sage counselling of the modern Youssouff (Joseph), was very different from the inspired wisdom which directed the actions of the King, in the days of the Patriarchs. *He* had compassion on his people; and for *their sakes* did he lay up corn in all the cities, that they might not perish for want of food; and though he knew that there were to be *seven years* of scarcity, and that the famine would *press hard* upon his subjects, yet did he take to himself but a "fifth part" of the produce, during the years of plenty which preceded the dearth; and when the days of the blight began to come, *then* did he not withhold the food from the people, but cheerfully distributed to *all*, freely and without reserve, save only as their interest was concerned.† With Mohammed Ali, however, the case was widely different; he was actuated by feelings of another kind; he seemed determined if possible to satiate his avarice, and to avail

* Gen. xli. 34—36.

† "And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread; and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, 'Go unto Joseph; what *he* sayeth to you, do.

"And the famine was over all the face of the earth; and Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt.

"And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy *corn*; because that the famine was *so* sore in all lands."—Genesis, xli. 55, 6, 7.

himself of the bounteous blessings of Providence, to insure his own future aggrandizement. So far from being content to take a "fifth part" (which, however, under *such* circumstances, would not have been justifiable), he took *the whole*. It was in 1829, as in the time of Joseph, "the earth brought forth by handfulls;" he "gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for *it was* without number;" and "he laid up the food in the cities: the food of the field which was round about every city, laid he up in the same;" but for his own selfish purposes, and *not* for the *people's good;* for though he knew that they were starving at his gate, and that they "cried unto him for bread," *still* opened *he* not his storehouses, neither suffered *he* the officers to *sell* them corn, but continued rather to pile it up in heaps, to rot and to spoil: and not even satisfied with this, he prohibited those who had money importing grain into the country for their own use, and "corn was contraband." This his best friends allow, as also, that "mouldy beans" were mixed up with bad flour, and sold at a high price to the poor. I do not mean to say that there was no good bread *to be got* by those Europeans who had the means of paying for it; and after a time, this strange infatuation certainly diminished; but there is no doubt that matters went *very hard* with the unfortunate fellah, and that the rigorous measures adopted by Mohammed Ali, fully justify the assertions that have been made concerning them; they furnish also very strong grounds for the belief that persons did *die of starvation*. I was in Egypt at the time, and the scenes I then witnessed, left this conviction upon my mind.

Some whom I respect have attempted to defend the

Pascha's conduct, on the score of *expediency:* but having been called upon, during a long residence, to attend the sick, I had extensive opportunities of knowing that the want of food *was*, in very many instances, the chief, and often the *sole* cause of their sufferings, and that its judicious administration would have done more good than *any medicine* which I could give them: having, moreover, no interest of a private or political nature to induce me to be silent, I feel myself in a situation to speak without reserve, and I am confident I shall be borne out in my assertions by every traveller who was then in the country; that is, if he chooses to *express* his real sentiments. The poor were to be seen lying about among the debris, at the skirts of villages, in the scorching sun, not only in a state of nudity, but pale, sickly, and emaciated, faint, and broken-hearted, tormented by the flies, and in such a feeble state, that they could with difficulty defend themselves from the rats and dogs; and even when food or money has been offered them, they have scarcely had strength to take it. These things are not changed.

In Egypt, hundreds may die, and no sort of cognizance be taken of the fact. Persons are usually buried the same day, often within twelve hours; indeed, sometimes when they are hardly cold; and I fear, occasionally before they are dead! One day, a young woman having been seized (as people thought,) with apoplexy, was supposed to be no more. The body was forthwith decorated with flowers, perfumed, and hurried to the grave upon a stretcher. On arriving at the spot, signs of returning animation were observed, and the patient gradually recovered,—thanks to the fresh air! In these countries, no coffin is used, what-

ever may have been the cause of death; nor is any question asked: there is no coroner's inquest, no jury, no investigation of any kind, as in England, and nobody cares. A man may sink down and expire without the walls, among the rubbish or the tombs, for lack of sustenance, and be devoured by the dogs and jacals: and people may know nothing about it. Such things, though rare, have nevertheless happened. It is to be lamented that even *one* human being should have fallen in the midst of a land of plenty, and surrounded by pomp and luxury, unheeded, and alas! unpitied, except by those who were as destitute and wretched as himself; and who, having no resource in their affliction, patiently endure all, put their unfeigned trust in Allah, and calmly turning towards the "Holy Caaba," prostrate themselves humbly upon the sand, give glory to God and the Prophet, and implore a speedy termination to their sufferings! Such is the result of the Mussulmaun's faith: and speaking generally, these unfortunate beings do act from the best of principle. Whatever be their doctrines, we must give them credit for fortitude, patience, and resignation. Few men, whether Christian or Infidel, can show more: and possessing so many excellent qualities, it is a thousand pities that they cannot be emancipated altogether: for a cloud of pagan darkness still hovers over them. But, to return from this digression!*

Wheat is almost the only plant that may be said to flourish in every clime: and where it is the most wholesome and the most required, it grows in the greatest plenty: from which we may infer that it is the food most essential to life. It is constantly

* I shall speak of the manner in which the Pascha *obtains possession* of the corn when on the subject of taxation! See Vol. II. Chap. I. II. III.

alluded to as such in the Scriptures:* and we know very well, that Egypt, both in ancient and modern times, has always been celebrated for its grain: and that it is even now, one of the chief export articles. Mohammed Ali might surely then have found means to spare *a little* for his suffering people, even though he deprived them of all things else. The food of the Jews consisted chiefly of honey, rice, milk, vegetables, and bread; and therefore it was, no doubt, that the "land of promise" was designated "a land flowing with milk and honey," these things being, more than every other, acceptable to them, and grateful to their feelings and habits. It was no uncommon practice with the Jews, to *roast* the corn; or more properly, to *parch* it, and this practice still exists in some districts.†

At one time, it was a matter of dispute as to what *should be* the proper food of man: but now, no longer. That which nature intended for the most suitable food of an animal is sufficiently pointed out by the structure of the teeth, jaws, and digestive organs; and although we find men possessing different views and different tastes, according to the regions they ocupcy, there is no longer any doubt that man is (what is understood by the term) *omnivorous*, i. e. that he was designed to partake of *all* kinds of food in moderation, and of no kind exclusively. Habit may do much in moulding the taste; every man finds out by experience what things are best suited to his condition, and if he is wise, he will live accordingly; but we may depend upon it, there is nothing on the face of the earth that may not be turned to advantage, if duly considered. In the more temperate regions,

* Luke xi. 5.

† Leviticus, xxiii. 14.—2 Sam. xvii. 28.—Joshua, v. 11.

a greater variety of food may be procured than within the tropics, and the appetite is perhaps more capricious, independently of cultivation and example: the digestion is also more active, and the constitution more vigorous, than in hot countries; we cannot therefore be too careful how we *regulate* our diet. But our other habits must be tempered too! The great secret of life is to avoid excess, and to maintain, as much as in us lies, *a just balance between the mind and body!* A celebrated individual has quaintly declared, that the chief requisites to health and longevity are, "a clear conscience, a contented mind, and a clean skin!" Another, in the same spirit, has said, "Praise God! and keep the bowels open!" Of a surety, we can seldom go wrong, if we listen to the voice of nature, take proper exercise in the open air, rise early, and do unto all men as we would that they should do unto us.

Near the Equator, we invariably find that we have less occasion for animal food than towards the poles; fruits and roots are not only more cooling, grateful, and refreshing, but in a general way, sufficiently nutritious; and finer, more athletic, and powerful men are no where to be seen than among the Arab tribes, the chief of whose diet is farinaceous; but if, in low latitudes, we indulge too freely in solid animal food, we become excited and restless, incapable of exertion, plethoric, irritable, and prone to disease; and thus it is, that so many Europeans leave their bones on a foreign shore. Let me then earnestly entreat those who may in future visit tropical climates, as they value their own happiness, to partake sparingly of solid animal food. They will find it no privation, at times, to abstain from it altogether; for when the digestive organs are weakened, either by fatigue, temperature,

or the condition of the atmosphere, as will not unfrequently happen, they may rest assured, that a tepid bath, repose, moderate diet, a cup of coffee, and a single pipe of "D'gebaile," will do more good than a full meal.* There is, in all men, great sympathy between the skin and the stomach, as we know by the common experiment of drinking a glass of cold water to produce perspiration, and by the loss of appetite and sickness, which attend diseases of the skin and check of perspiration. When a person perspires freely, thirst is sometimes urgent, and the body feels weak; but it would be wrong to have recourse to wine or spirits, under the idea of *supporting the strength;* the debility produced, is only temporary, and if it may not be referred to exertion, is often deceptive, and most likely depends on fulness of habit, which the perspiration is designed to alleviate. Instead of interrupting this salutary operation of nature, we should endeavour to facilitate it by abstinence, and by taking a Seidlitz powder or some other simple laxative; but spirits would render the thirst more urgent, and tend to produce fever and dysentery. Composure and rest, and when it is possible, shelter from the sun's rays, will contribute much more to the relief of such symptoms: for they are often aggravated by a natural restlessness of disposition, and a sanguine temperament. Those who are too ardent, generally suffer from fever: those again, who persist in the customs of their own nation, favor congestive diseases, and determine the blood to the head, which should be kept cool, yet protected from the sun by day, and the dew by night. Orientals generally sleep for an hour or two at noon; and the soothing influence of tobacco and coffee, when

* D'gebaile, a town on the coast of Syria, famous for its tobacco.

used in moderation, is sufficiently obvious. If we make a call either on a native, or on one of the resident Franks, at that time, nothing is more likely than that we shall be told he is asleep, or in his harem, by which we are to understand that he is engaged with his family, and would be excused. We cannot do better, wherever we may happen to be, than to follow the example of the natives; for the prevailing customs of a country are generally those which are most conducive to the health and well-being of its inhabitants. Common sense will point out to us the folly of engaging in pernicious practices. Indolence invariably produces plethora and disease; but it is equally incumbent upon us to avoid excitement; it *will not do* in a hot country.

In order to enjoy health, we must adapt our habits to circumstances, and take every thing *quietly;* in this respect, a good deal of that which in the Turk *we* call apathy, is real wisdom, provided it be not carried too far. In the East, there is generally more inclination to drink than to eat, especially when perspiring freely; but to this we are advised to prescribe a limit, more particularly when the sun is at its height. Even in Europe, during a hot summer, we sometimes feel disposed to take a glass of cold water or liqueur as a *stimulus*, before we can eat our dinner; but if we indulge the inclination, we create a *false* appetite, and often we should do better to refrain entirely, or eat but little. The digestion has become weak from some cause or other: it matters not whether it be temperature, anxiety, or dissipation, either in regard to pleasure, study, or business; the effect is the same in every case: the stomach has lost its tone, its function is deranged, and its labour should be rendered light. The very circumstance of our loathing the food which at

other times we eat with appetite, is a corroboration of the fact, or a stimulus would not be called for; but if we disregard this useful monitor, and overload the stomach, heedless of consequences, we shall surely pay the penalty of our folly.

It is a very common thing for elderly people to say, even in England, that they have no relish for ordinary food, and that they require *something nice*,—stimulating, savoury meats, in order to tempt them to eat. This is a mistake; and they will do well to profit by the foregoing remarks.* The observation, "Once a man, and twice a child," refers to the body as well as to the mind. The animal functions are enfeebled, in proportion as the intellect is impaired, and vice versâ. The balance of the circulation being lost, the pulse is slow, the secretions diminish, the strength fails, and the powers of life are no longer vigorous. As a growing infant requires sleep, so does an aged man need repose to restore his energies; an equal degree of care and watchfulness is necessary for both; a regular system of diet should be pursued; the meals should be frequent, but very light, simple, and moderate. Much food is not necessary: the celebrated Cornaro, who, by attention to these matters, lived to a great age, subsisted latterly, almost on an egg a-day, and enjoyed good health.† The slumbers of old age do more good than food; they facilitate digestion, and tranquillize the nerves; and thus it is clear that more nourishment, and greater benefit are to be derived to an old man, by a moderate quantity of plain aliment, than by pampering the appetite with highly seasoned meats,

* When Isaac was old, and his eyes dim, he said unto Esau, "Go out to the field, and take me some venison; and make me *savoury meat*, such as I love." —Gen. xxvii. 3.

† See "Cornaro," Penny Cyclopædia: also Aikin's General Biography.

rich sauces, and ragouts, stimulating the stomach to do what, in fact, it has not stamina to perform! It is true there are some old men who boast that they can eat and drink *any thing*, and plenty of it; but such instances are rare; and it is reasonable to suppose, that if *they* (who have had a stronger constitution than their neighbours) were more moderate, instead of rendering the latter days of their pilgrimage *miserable*, or of being cut off suddenly, as they frequently are, they might even be spared to a much later period, in the full enjoyment of their faculties, surrounded by a numerous and healthy progeny, and, at the close of a venerable existence, be permitted to confer a patriarchal blessing on their children's children, perhaps to the fourth generation. If all this reasoning applies to those in the temperate zone, its force will be more fully appreciated within the tropics. The facts which I have adduced are confirmed by persons who have resided many years in the East and West Indies; and I never yet met with an officer who had suffered much from disease there, who did not acknowledge that he was a martyr to his own imprudence, having engaged in excess of one kind or other; it might be hog-hunting, drinking, or inconsiderately exposing himself to the mid-day sun, or the heavy dews of the night, thus inflaming the brain, or as the saying is, heating the blood, and checking the perspiration.

One of the most wholesome and palatable dishes of the Orientals, is the pilaf, already described. The doves of Upper Egypt are also most delicious eating; they are light and tender, and of such exquisite flavour, that they must be accounted a great delicacy; but it is a shame to shoot them, for they are so very tame, and are so seldom disturbed by the natives for want of

powder and shot, that they do not seem to understand the meaning of a gun. They are alarmed for a few moments by the report, fly round, and return to the same place. One of our party who was a very bad shot, being near sighted, actually one day fired three times at the same bird, and lost him at last; this was at the second cataract, in Nubia.

The pigeons of Egypt are also very nice, and very wholesome; and so is the mutton; indeed, I never tasted finer in my life, *any where*,—it is equal to any that this country produces; and is not even inferior to that of Wales, or the South Downs;—this is allowed by every traveller, although our "gourmands" may not like to acknowledge it. All of these things may be partaken of occasionally; and when more than usually fatigued, there can be no objection to a small quantity of brandy, Marsala wine, or "Araki," mixed with cold water. Araki is commonly prepared from dates; but the best Araki is obtained by macerating the skins of grapes, after they have been pressed for the wine, and then subjecting the fluid to the process of distillation; the spirit which comes over, is subsequently flavoured with angelica and mastich, and if properly managed, is a very wholesome and pleasant liqueur: but it must not be confounded with the trash that is sometimes met with in towns and villages in the interior. It contains a good deal of essential oil, forms a white cloud when diluted, and is somewhat similar to aniseed, but less aromatic and pungent, and very superior.*

* When I was in Egypt, I enjoyed most excellent health, which I attribute, in a great degree, to my own prudence. I adopted the habits of the respectable Arabs, as far as was consistent, and those who may follow my example, will never regret having taken my advice. I arose early, and commenced the day with a small cup of coffee. The rest of my diet consisted either of the "pilaf," or of a soup prepared with meat, rice, and vegetables; but I did not eat the

To return to my narrative. We had finished our evening meal, and had just despatched a water-melon, and a petite verre d'Araki. There was a lightness in the air, which as Europeans, we could well appreciate, and its influence was felt also by the lively Arabs, our crew. One or two had strayed into the town; the rest were either engaged with their pipe, or joining in the chorus to one more musical than the rest, who played upon a rude sort of three-stringed lyre, and accompanied it with his voice. We, too, were sipping our coffee, t'chibouque à la main, in the open air. The male part of the creation seemed to have diminished, and those of them which remained, had relinquished their labours: the females alone continued their occupations. The women in Egypt are quite as industrious as the men, and sometimes more so: they are seldom idle, and they perform even some of the most laborious offices; they may be seen tending the water-wheels; they loosen the soil, sow the corn, and assist in gathering and grinding it; they also make bread, and prepare the food, (an office which it is thought disgraceful for a man to engage in;) they

meat. I seldom had recourse to any thing else, unless a few figs, some water-melon, dates, or "Yoûart,"—or as it is termed in Egypt, "Raib," which means acid,—in contra-distinction to "Leben," (sweet),—or, as the Turks say, "Haleb,"—thus giving a name to a town in Asia Minor, which is so called on account of its delightful situation.* "Raib" then, is nothing more than milk curdled in the sun; and it does not differ from the clouted milk of this country, or curds and whey. It is pleasantly acid, and in the East, is a most grateful food. The native inhabitants of Cordofan and Darfoûr may be said to make it the chief of their diet, together with cheese and fruits. Morning and evening, I took tea, and bread and butter à l'Anglaise, and once or twice during the day, a very small cup or "Find'gian" of coffee à l'Arabe, sans lait, sans sucre,—et assez fort! If thirsty, I indulged *moderately* in fruit, when it could be had. Lemonade is perhaps the best form of sherbet, and the water of the Nile is much esteemed; but we should refrain as much as possible, from either eating or drinking during the heat of the day.

* "Haleb," or "Aleppo," which is surrounded by beautiful orchards and gardens.

wash clothes, attend to their house and children, and fetch water; they even work the clay, and form it into bricks. It would seem, however, that there are exceptions to every rule, even in Egypt; for while we were watching the different moving objects around us, our attention was suddenly arrested by the approach of three females of very different aspect and character: they had laid aside the modest veil, and with it, their reputation; they were attired in a quantity of gaudy, glittering finery of various colours, thrown upon them without any regard to neatness or decorum, and so transparent as scarcely to conceal the skin. They imposed upon themselves no sort of restraint; they exerted all their powers of fascination to the utmost; but neither their languishing glances, nor the more ardent expressions of their full, black, sparkling eyes produced the effect intended; for their general deportment was worthy of the most frantic Bacchanalian revels, and so far from exciting admiration, was only calculated to create disgust. The face was entirely exposed to view, and although a stranger to a blush, familiar with paint, which was not of the most exquisite quality, and daubed upon the sallow cheek without discretion. They wore a chemise of thin muslin or gauze, which was open to the waist; and a profusion of black and highly perfumed tresses, ornamented with fragments of gold coin, hung down the back to the loins, around which was negligently thrown a silken scarf of many colours, which could be variously disarranged at the pleasure of the wearer. Their tones and words of course corresponded with their gestures. All that art could do, according to their judgment, was done to render them "bewitching." As they drew near, they twirled about, and commenced

a sort of slow, sidling movement (of which the "Cachoucha" is a faint imitation,) and during which, they put themselves into all kinds of gross and obscene attitudes, and threw out the most insinuating, lascivious looks. These were liberally distributed on all around; but the artillery of their smiles and melting sighs was chiefly directed against ourselves; and, if I mistake not, they would gladly have taken refuge beneath the Union Jack: but unfortunately for them, (or for us,) we were made of sterner stuff than to be moved to love by such like "Houris,"—and the "Paradise" we sought, was altogether of a different kind. This might be from a want of taste, and no doubt, they thought so; for after exhausting all their strength to no purpose,—having failed to charm the obdurate hearts of the beholders,—having sung their last air, and gone through the last scene of their amorous exhibition, during which they had laboured not a little, they reluctantly withdrew to a short distance, murmuring, and displeased that they were allowed to depart without even "backscheesh," and without the consolation of having rifled a single heart. One of them, older and more ugly than her companions, had played upon a sort of lyre, and sang whilst her more "fair" sisters danced.* The contrast which they formed with the different objects on the quay, and particularly with the females, who, while they continued their avocations, drew their "yaschmak" (veil) or their "fared'je" (cloak) still more close, was very great. I could not but pity these poor creatures; it struck me that they did not follow this sort of life by choice,

* We saw many such exhibitions subsequently, the performances varying according to the fancy of the parties, who sometimes danced, played, and sang, at others they only danced, or danced and sang, and the instruments employed were either the viol, lute, tambour, or lyre, and the castanets.

EGYPTIAN DANCING GIRLS.
(Gha'wa'zee or Gha'zeey'ehs.)

but that they had been regularly instructed in it; and the extreme to which they carried the dance, proved that it was only to be acquired by much study and practice: they were obviously fatigued, and were now reclining in the shade. We sent them a present, for which they were very grateful, and rose up to follow Mohammed when he parted from them, but he gave them to understand that their services were not required; and as for dancing,—nous en etions contens pour une fois!

These girls, though perhaps of easy virtue, are distinct from the "femmes publiques," or courtezans, which abound in every large town in Egypt, and which are comparatively modest in their appearance, and decent in their behaviour, notwithstanding they go with the face uncovered. They pay a capitation-tax to the Pascha for their "licence," which is a source of great profit to him. But these gay beauties—"les demoiselles qui dansent," the wanton votaries of "Athor" the "Mother of the Universe,"—are denominated "Gh'awazee." They are to be seen in almost every great town, and in some of the villages: they sing and dance near the coffee houses, for the gratification of the licentious, and may be considered a very inferior and corrupt imitation of the "Almeh," so famous in the days of the ancient Egyptians. Similar performers, but of a much higher grade, are still to be met with at the banquets of the luxurious; and they do not differ in the slightest degree, either in regard to dress, habits, or demeanour, from those which flourished, and danced before the great, in the days of the Pharaohs, and to which frequent allusion is made in the sacred writings.* We have also an excellent

* Isaiah v. 11, 12.

representation of them on the walls of the tombs in Upper Egypt, particularly at Thebes, and in the grottoes of Eilithyias.*

The term Almêh, or Al-mai, signifies skilful, learned, knowing, i. e. in a worldly sense; and now, as formerly, the class of people so designated, travel about the country, to sing, dance, and play, when hired. They charge according to their rank and acknowledged abilities, and are under the superintendence of a police officer—the Pezawink Bashi.† They are a peculiar race, like the Bayadères, or Nautch girls, of India: they associate together; and the towns in which they chiefly dwell, are known to the inhabitants. But there is as much difference between the Almeh of the ancients, and the Gh'awazee of the moderns, as there is between the opera singers and ballet-dancers of Europe, when compared with the performers at a country fair. Some writers have given very glowing descriptions of the Almêh; they have compared them to the Italian Improvvisatrici, and their performances have been admired as poetical and romantic, in as much as, by practice, they are enabled to illustrate the human passions, and exhibit the most intense feelings of the soul. But it must not be forgotten that the business of their lives has always been, rather to appeal to the senses than the understandings of men, inflame the imagination, and steal away the heart; and although it is true that they were admitted in days of old to the presence of the great, and that in modern times, the ladies of the harems are instructed by them in singing and dancing—that they recite poems for

* See Vol. II.

† The Chief Pimp, or Captain of the Courtezans: and this man is obliged to keep a register of all who are under his care.

their amusement, and set forth all their powers, to render their fair pupils adepts in the art of pleasing, the object is still the same. They may have sweet voices and fine forms; they may be very graceful, alluring, and pathetic in their demeanour,—still it must be confessed, I think, that their sentimentality is of too substantial a nature to be refined, and too characteristic of Mohammedan joys to be misunderstood. We are assured that the ladies of every harem, not only in Egypt, but in Syria, Turkey, India, and Persia, are in the constant habit of acting these libidinous charades,—that to excel in such performances, is accounted an accomplishment, and seldom fails to procure for the individual, the marked favour, if not the affection, of her lord and master,—and that in Cairo, some of the Italian and French residents have so far contracted the habits of Oriental females, as themselves to indulge in similar orgies: thus imitating the example of the Greeks and Romans, who at one period, according to Horace and Juvenal, also took a part in the same voluptuous exhibitions.* The most celebrated of the modern Egyptian Almêh, reside at a small, retired mud-village, about half an hour's ride from Cairo. It is called Sha'arah, and is pleasantly situated among fields and plantations.

Now, much as we may be disposed to condemn such representations as those which I have briefly glanced at, I much question, whether some of the ballet-performances in Europe, are not almost as indecent, and as immoral in their tendency, if we view the subject impartially, and make proper allowance for the dif-

* The Eleusinian Mysteries of the Greeks were also practised at Rome during the reign of Adrian. They were observed with even more freedom and licentiousness there than in Greece, we read, for 1800 years; until at last, they were abolished by Theodosius the Great.—Lemprière.

ference of taste, feeling, and society,—which after all, depends in a great degree, on temperament and climate; and the chief distinction between Europeans and Asiatics, is simply this,—that the blessings of education and religion have been extended freely to the one, and withheld from the other: the propensities of our nature are the same in both.*

It appears to have been the custom of every age and country, to employ the song and the dance as a public demonstration of joy; but professional singers, dancers, and musicians were not only in request at marriage feasts and banquets, but also on religious festivals, and on many other great occasions. They formed a prominent feature in all processions and rejoicings after a victory, in every triumph, when it was intended to do honour to some favorite, patriot, or hero, at the time of the vintage, or when the harvest was gathered: and it was on one of these, that the Benjamites seized upon the virgins of Shiloh.†

We again set sail; and as we departed, I could not help thinking of the extraordinary scene I had just witnessed. I had often read of the Egyptian Almêh, but I certainly was not prepared to find that any females would be allowed to indulge such freedom, and so completely to lay aside restraint publicly, even before Mohammedans, much less in the presence of Christians! Generally speaking, I believe the Egyptian women have not the character of being particularly modest or virtuous. This may be slander: but it is

* For a more minute description of the Almêh, consult the works of Niebuhr, St. John's Egypt, and Russell's Aleppo.

† Judges, xxi. 21. See Exodus xv. 20, 21.—xxxii. 19. — Judges xi. 34.—1 Samuel xxi. 11.—2 Samuel vi. 14, 16.—Isaiah v. 11, 12.— Psalms xlvii. 1.—lxviii. 25.—cl. 4.—lvii. 8.—cxxxvii. 1—4.

not wonderful if so sweeping a charge should be substantiated, when the principles of their education, the general laxity of manners among the men, and the tenets of the Mussulmaun faith, are considered. The facility which is afforded them of contracting marriage, is very great: for that which with us is a solemn bond for life, and becomes a very serious affair, with them is regarded with comparative indifference, and as a matter of course, a mere ordinance of man for mutual convenience. They do not expect to engage the husband's affections entirely, nor do they imagine that they have the *exclusive* right to them: they laugh at the idea of Europeans being allowed to have only one wife, and they cannot understand it; for in Egypt a man can marry *four*, not *more*: but then he may retain as many "enfans cheries," or "esclaves d'amours," as his circumstances will permit. Nevertheless, it is seldom that a man has more than one *wife*, or at most two, for it is found very inconvenient; not so much on account of a numerous progeny, for the enervating practices in which the wealthy indulge, sufficiently prevent that. Except among the lower orders, the average number of children I believe does not exceed two. It is a very common thing for a man to enter into a matrimonial arrangement for a given period, say two, five or seven years; the woman has a protector during this time, and she takes the chance of the contract being renewed at its expiration.

The Arabs and Nubians are alike subject to the Mohammedan law in this respect. During the reign of the Sultan Selim, they were allowed to have as many as thirty *wives*, exclusive of concubines, but although this was a privilege granted only to the rich and powerful, none were allowed to *exceed* this num-

ber; and this indulgence was denied even to the happy few, when a certain Prince or Bey, Mullah Hassein, whose territory was between Essouan and Ouadj Halfa and the Cataracts, represented to Mohammed Ali the inconsistency of such a practice: and it was prohibited in consequence. None are *obliged* to marry for life, though they may do so if they please: but it must be so stipulated in the bargain, and it is not considered respectable to do otherwise. The case is simply this. A young man wishing to take a wife, intimates as much to his mother, or some female relative: the answer is, "I will seek among my acquaintances for a suitable girl." This is accordingly done; the gentleman is not *supposed* to see the lady before marriage, though it is of course contrived, as if by accident. A day is fixed by the parents, when the young man shall pass where the lady happens to be with her mother, either watering flowers, gathering fruit, or engaged in some other equally pretty occupation, and where, laughing and talking without reserve, she is either unveiled or ingeniously lets her veil drop after the most becoming and approved fashion, just at the very moment he approaches, as if unconscious that a man is at hand.

In this or in some such way, the future husband is allowed an opportunity of beholding the blushing "fair one," and without a further interview, decides whether she shall become his bride. The lady has of course seen the young man often, on his way to the mosque, the bath, or the bazaar, without having displayed her own charms; but this is of little consequence, as she has no will to say "no!" when her parents say "yes!" Matches are made by the elders for their sons and daughters; and family connections are thus cemented.

A sort of contract is then drawn up between the parties, by a scribe and a priest; the bridegroom stipulating the sum that is to be paid to the bride on the day of marriage, and which, if they be not united for life, is in proportion to the length of time they propose to live together.* He is bound to clothe and support her until they separate, when he engages to pay her another sum, (generally equal to that paid on the wedding day,) in the presence of a priest and other witnesses. The women can in no case legally marry again, after parting from one husband, within seven months and ten days, the ostensible object of which is, to see whether she prove with child. At the expiration of this time, she is permitted to marry again; but the former husband is bound by law, to support her child or children until seven years of age; and to this end, the mother receives, or *ought* to receive, an allowance per diem, varying (according to the condition of the parties) from a few parahs to ten piastres, or more. If a woman part from her husband, having children more than seven years old, it is a law that the females remain with the mother, and the males with the father. When a man thus dismisses his wife, or *renounces* her, as the case may be, he gives her a written document on the subject, in order that she may show that she is at liberty to marry again; otherwise, little importance is attached to a "bill of divorcement," for a man thinks no more of putting away his wife, than of casting off an old shoe. This is literally

* Sometimes presents are interchanged between the parents, and the youth sends the lady some token of his love before marriage. He not unfrequently has to fee the father, and if he has nothing to give, as in days of old, he lends his services for a time. The fraud practised by Laban on Jacob, is by no means uncommon in the present day, especially among the Armenians, who still hold that the elder sons and daughters should marry first. — See Genesis, xxix. An Armenian wedding is well described in the Penny Mag. for Nov. 9th, 1833.

the fact, both among the Jews and Arabs; and the *presentation of a slipper* to the party who becomes the future husband, is the symbol still in use, even as in the days of the ancient Hebrews. We are assured that the Bedoueen Arabs adhere to the custom of claiming the wife of a deceased brother, and that although not actually *compelled* to accept him, she seldom refuses; for they consider, that by such a match, the family property is kept together. A man has also an exclusive right to the hand of his cousin: he is not obliged to marry her, but she cannot unite herself with another without his consent.* The religious portion of the marriage ceremony is very short. A priest is advertised that a wedding is to take place; the parties assemble together with the friends, but not in a mosque. The priest simply asks if they are content to marry—fresh presents are offered, and the sum of money to be paid is stated to the priest. The lady is not allowed to answer questions for herself, as it is supposed she might say something wrong; but one of the male relatives answers for her: she is closely veiled during the whole ceremony, (so the deceit of passing off an *elder* daughter, may be easily accomplished,) and the right hand of this *sponsor*, or "friend of the bridegroom," is tied with the right hand of the husband.† The priest then offers an address, quite unconnected with religion; for marriage is regarded as a very trifling matter, entirely of worldly institution—a thing of no moment; and the transaction is generally over in a quarter of an hour. The parties then go away, and the day is spent in merriment. When the ceremony

* See the Book of Ruth, iii. iv., also the writings of Burckhardt, Lane, Burder, Maltby, Wilkinson, and Taylor.

† John, iii. 29.

of a wedding is ended, the new married pair do not retire together, but the bridegroom goes to the mosque to pray, as usual, and the bride is taken whence she came. The husband then gives a dinner to his friends, but he is not obliged to be present himself. He goes at eight o'clock at night, to fetch his wife; he finds her attired in her best, supported on each side by females. To each of these he makes a present, and also one to his wife, to induce her to lift her veil.* The attendants retire and leave them together. If his blushing spouse has been married before, he does not again quit her, but she is conducted to his house in greater or less state; but if she be still a virgin, he entrusts her to the care of her mother, until the expiration of seven days, during which time, she undergoes various ceremonies and ablutions, agreeably to the custom of the country: her husband is also admitted as a member of the "harem,"† and he comes to see her as often as he will, but she is not delivered finally to him, until after seven days!‡ In some instances, as the bride passes under the arch of her paternal roof, the friends shower a quantity of parahs or other coins upon her head, which are intended for her use. There is always a great deal of feasting, both before and after a wedding, and considerable expenses are indulged in by all classes, on such occasions. Many allusions are made to the subject in the Sacred Writings; and the

* Psalm, xlv. 14. Matth. xxv. 6.

† I have already said that the "harem" comprises all the members of a family, male as well as female. These, in Persia, take the name of "Purdeh Nisheens,"—literally, "sitters behind the curtain,"—for the poorest man has his harem, and if he possess but a single room to live in, it is divided into two parts by a curtain, if he can afford nothing better; so that those who visit the male portion of the family, do not interfere with the females.

‡ In some parts, especially among the Druses, these ceremonies are performed before marriage.

high estimation in which wedding-feasts were held in former days, is there conspicuously set forth. Our Saviour himself speaks of it, and by personally attending one of these convivial meetings, not only sanctioned the ordinance of matrimony, but taught us that it is possible to be religious without being austere.* Our Lord is also described as being married to the Church, and in the course of His ministry upon earth, reproves the Pharisees and others, by reminding them of the established customs of the Jews. "When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room," &c.† This refers to the nature of the entertainment. The terraces and the upper rooms of Oriental dwellings are always the most agreeable, and are, of course, the most prized, as the people love to enjoy a fine prospect in the open air; thus, the houses are built with courts, and there is generally a flight of stone steps leading from them up the face of the building to the roof, on that account. At festive meetings these apartments are usually given up to the "most worthy," and in the present day, when persons open their doors to a great number of people, even to strangers, in testimony of their joy, it would be thought very presumptuous if any one of the guests, unasked, selected one of the "upper rooms." Europeans should bear in mind that in the East, there is not the same free intercourse which we are accustomed to; the females are placed where they can enjoy their privacy with their children, and yet take a part in the hilarity of the meeting; moreover, they sometimes remain several days in the house, and must be taken care of.‡ Again, it is usual, at least among

* John ii. 1.—Gal. v. 21.— 1 Pet. iv. 3.
† Luke xiv. 7—10. ‡ Judges xiv. 12.

the rich, for changes of linen to be placed at the disposal of all the guests, as also robes of honour, or as we read, "wedding garments." Great families are generally provided with a supply of these; and it would be thought a premeditated affront, if any one, knowing the custom, presumed to appear without one. The parable referred to in St. Matthew and St. Luke, is therefore easily understood.* The ornaments worn by females at a wedding do not differ much from those which are prized at other times. They consist of bracelets and rings, and embroidery in gold and silver tissue, more or less enriched with precious stones. The bride is generally crowned with a crown of embossed thread, and flowers—those who cannot afford more costly materials, introduce shells, beads, or pieces of gold coin—and the crown is preserved through life, to be used again on the solemn occasion of their death, when, as I have said, the corpse is decorated with flowers, perfumed, and crowned with a garland. All this is in direct confirmation of what we read in the Bible, and we cannot move a step in these countries, without being reminded of events which are there recorded. The marked favour of the Almighty to the people of Zion is admirably illustrated by Ezekiel, who speaks of the Holy City as of a female whose renown went forth among the heathen for her exceeding beauty and prosperity; and he describes her as one that was bedecked with ornaments, girded about the loins with fine linen and silk, anointed with oil, having bracelets upon her hands, ear-rings in her ears, "*a jewel on her forehead*, and *a beautiful crown upon her head.*"† The Royal Psalmist has, in like manner,

* Matth. xxii. 11.—Luke xiv. 21.

† Ezekiel xvi. 9 to 16.

compared the majesty and grace of Christ's kingdom to the comeliness and exquisite perfection of female beauty, as exhibited in the virgin daughters of princes, when attired in "raiment of needlework," and in "clothing of wrought gold," whose garments "smell of myrrh, aloes, and cassia," and who are "all glorious within," and "full of purity and love."*

There is, in general, a great difference between the conduct of a Nubian and an Arab, in the case of a woman proving unfaithful to her husband. The former proceeds immediately to violence against one or both parties; the latter says only to the woman, "you have now broken the contract or covenant, and you are no longer my wife." He leaves her, or in other words, "casts off his shoe!" Of the jealous disposition and wrath of a Nubian, in reference to love affairs, we had a very fair specimen during our journey. It so happened, that when we were travelling in Upper Egypt, our crew were all Nubians, and the Reis had his wife on board. She was an Arab, and had formerly been the wife of the Reis of another Cand'gia, then in the service of two French gentlemen whom we met at Thebes. One night, a violent affray ensued between the two men, which might have terminated very seriously, but for the interference of the by-standers. It seems that the former husband ventured to speak with his "old acquaintance," which being perceived by the Nubian, so excited his jealousy, that his countenance instantly betrayed the inward feelings of the man; and although really timid, his eye flashed, he knit his brow, and cast towards his antagonist a

* Psalm xlv. There are many other similar passages to these. The sweetness and harmony of nature are continually referred to in glowing terms; and in Eastern climes, it is still the custom of the rich to fumigate the apartments with highly fragrant and expensive gums.

look of the most deadly rage; after a few words, he suddenly drew forth a knife (such as the Nubians usually carry under the sleeve), and rushing upon him, aimed a savage blow at his throat, which was luckily prevented by one of the Arab crew, who received a slight wound in the arm, and by the Reis stepping a pace backward at the moment; but, quick as lightning, catching up another knife which accidentally lay in the way, he was proceeding, in his turn, to attack the Nubian, or rather perhaps to act on the defensive, when they were both restrained by the interposition of the respective crews. The battle then became general, and as usual, furious, at least to all appearance; for any one unaccustomed to such things, would have supposed that nothing short of a few cut throats or broken heads would have been the issue of it. But those who understand the character of these people, can coolly stand by as we did, and look on, to their infinite amusement; that is, as soon as the two principal actors in the scene were disarmed, which they speedily were, by their respective friends.

The battle, though fierce, gradually subsided, and no deeper wounds were inflicted than could be felt by a sensitive reputation, save and except a few scratches, which I observed, were visible after the combat, on the dark and dusty visages of the party. It was a most ridiculous exhibition certainly: all tongues were going at once, each man abusing his neighbour, and heaping upon him the most insulting epithets which he could coin for the occasion; and as to oaths, no man in this country, has an idea of the malicious and disgusting allusions expressed by these people towards each other.*

* They do not differ from the exclamations to which, we are told, the Persians give utterance during their paroxysms of rage. Many of them are too

It is the finest fun in the world to see two Arabs fight. After a few high words, the tearing of turbans begins, and the combatants are speedily left under bare poles: they kick, and bite, and scratch, rave, and gnash their teeth, but seldom let blood, unless from the region of the olfactories; and it does not often happen that they do one another any serious injury. Now and then, to his infinite chagrin, a man gets tipped into the Nile, amid the laughter and hooting of the by-standers: and this generally puts an end to the fray, as it cools the wrath of one of the disputants, and convinces him of the superior power of his adversary, but no bad consequences ensue: an Arab is a sort of amphibious animal, and can live as well in the water, as on land. An affair of this sort affords the philologists a fine specimen of the beauties, and the harsh guttural accents of the language; the tongue of each *gladiator*, and of others near at hand, being industriously employed during the whole contest. The anatomist, too, and the artist, have a fine opportunity of observing the development of the muscles, and the exquisite mechanism of the human form: for, to do them justice, the eye of man never beheld more athletic and better proportioned figures. The boatmen of the Nile often reminded me of the celebrated Grecian statues. But there is one peculiar feature in

gross to repeat: but I may quote the following as a specimen of the *more moderate!*

"I have defiled his father's grave."—"He is the cub of an unsainted beast, whose carcase shall rot in the noon-day sun:"—"May the fowls of the air fight for his blood!" "May their fathers burn! May their wit shrivel up, and their livers drop!" "Whose cur art thou,—thou less than a dog's son?"—"Thou withered chip,—thou parched rag,—thou beardless old fool, that seest through a crack in thy understanding,—thou lump of polluted clay,—thou accursed dog with a smooth chin,—thou unhallowed slip of parchment, that dealest in iniquity!—thou unclean spot,—thou issue of corruption that howlest among the tombs,—thou spawn of a dishonored mother!" &c.—Fraser, Morier, &c.

these homely collisions of the Egyptian mobility: we do not see that the ladies take any *active* part in the fracas; they either pass quietly on their way, or stop to enjoy the fun: the utmost extent of their interference, even when their sons or husbands are concerned, is a free and unrestrained indulgence in the harsh screechings of their vernacular idioms. For volubility of tongue, and richness of oratory, they may then challenge the whole world; and they consider that, on such occasions, the exercise of the powers of speech, with which they are so admirably gifted, is their peculiar province; but they do not mix in the quarrels of their liege lords and masters, like some of our Northern viragoes, or tear the hair and mutilate the visage of the unfortunate opponents of their will. Sometimes, for private misdemeanours, a man may have to "eat a large share of his wife's slipper," that is to say, she may endeavour to impress upon him the undeniable force of her doctrine, by arguments which may afford him sufficient proof of her *earnestness* in the cause, and illustrate the *ardour* of her affection. These are, however, the transactions of the harem, and as they occur "behind the curtain," as the Persians say, the world is not presumed to know any thing about them. It *may* so happen, that instead of interposing in his behalf, she may not be sorry to see her "gude man" publicly chastised: and in *some* cases, it might not subject the individual to any very *great* inconvenience, if even the contending parties *killed each other*, as she might possibly thereby get rid of a perverse tyrant, or of a disagreeable companion, without having to wait out the full time of the *contract;* and as a lengthened mourning is uncalled for, the dark eyes of the "inconsolable fond one," beaming

with greater loveliness through tears, may immediately commence a fresh look-out, or, throwing herself into the despairing arms of a more favored object, she may emerge from the dull monotony of widowhood, at the expiration of the prescribed period of "seven months and ten days!" But to be serious, I firmly believe that there is more domestic happiness among these people than we are apt to give them credit for: their manners are natural, and their wants comparatively few; and were we to investigate the fact with the impartiality it deserves, I fancy we might even profit by their example. It is a great mistake to suppose that virtue is a plant of such rare growth, that it is indigenous only in Europe; and we greatly err, if we imagine that it is cultivated no where but in the temperate zone, or that its excellence is unappreciated in Egypt, or within the tropics.

In many parts of Europe, especially in capital cities, the state of society is very artificial: and I confess that in the majority of cases, where there is any blame, I should be inclined to lean towards the female sex; for I much fear that they have oftener cause to complain of us than we have of them. If an individual who has been tenderly brought up, finds herself slighted or neglected, being thrown upon her own resources, day after day, whilst her husband, in quest of new pleasures, is tempted to seek the society of others, she cannot suppose that he has much regard for her; and if, after a time, being so constantly left to while away the dull, solitary hours, he should become indifferent to her, or she should be induced to look elsewhere for that comfort which she is denied at home, it is hardly to be wondered at. Nevertheless, however harsh the treatment she may have received,

there is no conduct that would justify a guilty retaliation. "Suspicion always shakes confidence; and the best way to make a woman virtuous is to convince her that she is thought so." Where virtue is duly appreciated, and meets with a corresponding return of affection, there is no woman I believe, who would not do honor to her husband: but if the laws of society are habitually disregarded, and the ties of domestic love, instead of being respected, are treated with a sneer,—if virtue is not appreciated by the men, but set at nought and despised as affectation and hypocrisy, because a *few* would have it so,—the men cannot surely be surprised, if by degrees the softer sex, having no longer any delicacy of character to support, should unconsciously lay aside a large proportion of that modesty of demeanour, and amiable sensibility, which constitute their brightest ornaments, and so peculiarly fit them for the station which they are destined to fill. Women, in the East, are differently brought up from those in the North; their education teaches them to submit implicitly to the will of their husband, and they expect to become the slaves of his passions, rather than the comfort and companions of his days: they are not even allowed to sit at meat with him, but they wait constantly upon him, wash his feet, anoint and perfume his body, dance before him, and their only study is, how they may make themselves acceptable to him. I do not say that they have nothing in return for this, for, generally speaking, they arè treated well, and are cheerful and happy, strange as it may seem: their happiness is, however, of the negative kind; what they never knew they do not miss; and their minds have been prepared for such a state of existence from their childhood: nevertheless they are not so immured

as people in other countries sometimes imagine; they walk out attended or not, according to their rank and state; they go to the bath, and visit each other; but they are strangers to the society of the other sex; they agree very well together, and strive to contribute to each other's comfort, by such means as are in their power; they are fond of embroidering, and many specimens of their exquisite skill in this department, are already before the world. They are neither taught to read nor write, and were it not for the fondness they bear their children, and their various domestic duties in which they excel, they would lead but a monotonous sort of life. The wives of the rich are not at all disconcerted, should their husband take to himself one or two of his slaves or bond-women; it is what they expect, and only such as they consider him entitled to do, nor do they show any animosity towards these slaves in consequence of the preference they may have enjoyed, but set themselves rather to invent new arts by which they may at least enjoy a full proportion of their master's favor: but it never enters their head for an instant, that Nature intended man should restrict himself to one wife! Mussulmauns have no idea that women are to appear in Paradise, except as the favored and exquisitely formed Houris, the long anticipated reward of the faithful, whose bright eyes have been their beacon through life, and the thought of whom has cheered their drooping spirits in battle, and in the hour of need: but they believe that the existence of women upon earth is of the most degraded kind, that they are sent only to minister to *their* will, and to contribute to *their* happiness; they view them, not as responsible agents, but as beings whose existence is necessary to the continuance of the species, as an

essential part therefore of the great system of the universe, like any one of the inferior animals: that they are irresponsible for what they do, that they are mere machines, and having no soul, that they are neither worthy to eat nor drink with a man, nor to enter a mosque! If they are unfaithful, the jealousy and wrath of their husband or keeper are excited, and they are punished, not from any sense of sin committed, or from any feeling of dishonour either in regard to himself or his family, nor from any laudable motive whatsoever, but from mere animal rage at the galling thought of intrusion from one of his own sex.*

* Two firmauns have lately been promulgated by the Scheikh ul Islam, which, it is said, have created great discontent among the fair inhabitants of the Turkish harems. The first is somewhat to the following effect:—"Whereas it has come to the knowledge of those whose duty it is to watch over the morals of the faithful, and to see that none shall presume to transgress prescribed rules, that certain women of unblushing boldness and frivolous demeanour have, in imitation of those daughters of burnt mothers, the she Kiaffirs of Pera, permitted their noses, and even their lips, to be exposed to the wanton gaze of passengers: it is enjoined, in the name of the Most Merciful, the Recompenser of all virtue, that the wives and daughters of the faithful shall cautiously abstain from all such indecencies, and that they shall carefully wrap their "yachmecks" (veils) round their faces, in such manner as to conceal their lips and noses, and only leave sufficient aperture for the purpose of seeing that they do not defile themselves by coming in contact with any male infidels. Let them attend to this, or it will be the worse for them." The second is still more stringent, and not altogether exempt from a piece of scandal; it is couched more or less in these terms:—"Allah is great and omnipotent, and has placed limits to all things. It being a matter of public notoriety that the infidel traders of Pera have increased in number, and stored their shops with divers tempting articles, the offspring of Satan's inventions, whereby the wives and handmaids of the faithful are excited to acts of most objectionable extravagance, thereby injuring their domestic felicity, and entailing great pecuniary inflictions upon their husbands and lords; it also being observed that, not content with filling their shops with these luring creations of Eblis, the aforesaid breeders of mischief place behind their counters youths of comely appearance, hoping strongly to further captivate and intoxicate the senses of true believing women, and thence endangering their souls as well as their purses, it is consequently ordained, in the name of the Avenger of all incongruities, that caution and discretion be inculcated by husbands and male relatives, and that the pernicious practice of frequenting these infidel traps of destruction be put an end to. Let this serve as a warning, or all parties will eat considerable dirt in this world and in the next."

Having bade adieu to the unfortunate "Gh'awazee," or "Almêh" of classic notoriety, if such these wretched women may be called, we proceeded in the stillness of the evening, and in a short time, moored for the night, to the banks of Rahmanieh, famous as a military station at the mouth of the canal of Alexandria. Here we were sadly annoyed by the mosquitoes and the rats. Many of the latter were as large as cats, and not easily intimidated. I was disturbed in the middle of the night, by something pulling at the sleeve of my shirt; and on starting up, discovered—surely the "great-grandfather of all the rats,"—just at the edge of the divan! but instead of being alarmed at the suddenness of my movement, he slowly retired to the door, where, with two of his marauding companions, perched upon their hind legs, à la kangaroo, he sat, with all the impudence imaginable, and looked at me. Luckily for him I had nothing within reach but my slippers, or rather slipper, for one of them was half devoured, and it was not until I had saluted the rascal with it, smartly upon the head, and that I was fairly upon my knees, that either of the vagabonds began to beat a retreat. Bradford awoke in the scuffle, and wondered what I was at, especially when, having crept upon all fours to the door of the Cand'gia, he beheld me chasing the rats, "fer à la main:" for finding that the enemy only retired a few paces to reconnoitre, I seized hold of a sword-stick, and had nearly taken a prisoner, when I stumbled over one of the crew, who, spite o' the rats, and war's alarms, lay snoring upon the deck, and I measured my length at his side. It was just at this moment that Bradford made his appearance, anticipating that the conflict in which I was engaged, was of a far more serious nature than a midnight encounter with vermin!

Hostilities having ceased, I was in the act of returning to my couch, when I was surprised to see an immense fellow, though not so large as the other three, snugly ensconced under a loose coil of rope, and I was proceeding to renew the engagement, but the moment I stirred in that direction, he sprung forward, ran a few paces, and made but one bound across the deck into the water. In the morning, we discovered that they had made away with the candle out of the lantern, and besides the daring attack upon my robe de nuit, and the mangled remains of one of my best papouschés,* which sufficiently marked the nature of their intent, that they had fairly eaten one of the legs of Bradford's unmentionables: and when he held the article up, it literally hung in ribbons! The encroachments of these animals are by no means uncommon on the Nile, when moored to the banks in the neighbourhood of a village, where they usually swarm to such an extent, that we no longer wonder at the multiplicity of cats: these animals being in high repute among the Turks and Arabs: and they are very superstitious about them, though, strange to say, dogs are regarded as unclean beasts, and despised.

There is nothing particular in the appearance of Rahmanieh, and we proceeded, at an early hour, to ascend the Nile. A little to the south of the town, is supposed to have been once the famous city of Horus, the Hermopolis Parva of the Greeks,—Ptiminhor of the Copts: the site is now occupied by the village of Damanhûr-el-Wohsh. Near this spot, on the opposite side of the river, is the village of Sâ-el-Had'jar, the supposed site of the celebrated Sais, the ancient metropolis of the Delta. It has been alluded

* Red slippers.

to by Drs. Clarke and Richardson. But although antiquities of various kinds have frequently been dug up, no absolute proof has yet been furnished that this is the actual site of Sais,—and I believe the excavations have not been made to such an extent as perhaps they deserve to be: for the buildings of this distinguished capital were so extensive and colossal, that there remains still, no doubt, much to be discovered. It is not my purpose to follow out this subject. I shall merely remark, that Sais ranked among the most important cities of ancient Egypt. There was a magnificent temple there, dedicated to Neith or Minerva, and a wonderful monolithic shrine, which was so large, that it occupied "2000 men for three years," in bringing it down from the quarries at Elephantina, a distance of about 600 miles. There were many other astonishing works carried on at Sais, but of which in the present day, we have no relic: it is more than probable that some of them are imbedded in the sand.*

Nothing particular occurred during the next two days that we were embarked on the Nile; the weather still continued fine, and the wind being westerly, the atmosphere was beautifully clear and refreshing. We passed numerous populous villages, whose characteristics were poverty and filth, disease, naked children, blindness, and dogs! The heavens were brilliantly illuminated at night, and the young, pale, silvery moon looked placidly upon us, reposing in a cloudless sky. The boatmen rigidly kept the fast of "Rhamad'han," nor did we tempt them to eat or drink until after sunset: they were always merry, and sang their favourite

* See Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. v. p. 288—298:—"The three principal festivals, according to Herodotus, were those held at Bubastis, in honour of Diana; those of Busiris in honour of Isis; and those of Sais in honour of Neith."

boat songs, in which the praise of their employers was carefully remembered: they seemed to be in good humour with themselves and others, and it was amusing to see with what alacrity they sprung from the Cand'gia into the water at intervals, and swam ashore to pilfer the Indian corn or the sugar-cane, which they gathered without reserve, although they were chased by the Pascha's people:—as expeditiously regaining the boat, the sails were instantly turned to the wind; then, seizing the oars, they would set up a well-known cry or song of exultation, and be out of sight in no time. At first, I could not understand the meaning of this; and when they all with one consent, plunged into the river and deserted us, I was inclined to be angry; but upon reflection, I could not blame them: there is a great deal to be said in palliation of such pilfering. Would any one punish a farmer's boy, or the way-side traveller in England, because he stepped into a turnip-field or a gentleman's orchard, and satisfied the cravings of hunger, when toiling beneath the noon-day sun? If not, surely we may excuse the Egyptians, if, whilst labouring in their vocation, they are tempted to do likewise: since, by helping themselves to a little refreshing cane, which is not strictly theirs, they do but plunder the universal monopolizer of the land, who will neither give nor sell it them, but withholds from every man the just reward of his labour, and as we have seen, compels the poor to relieve him of his mouldly stores! These little exploits afforded the crew abundant matter for conversation and amusement; their energies increased as they proceeded, and the success of their marauding expeditions considerably enhanced their good humour. The river continued to wind its way through a sandy plain; but there was

comparatively little sign of cultivation on the western banks: a few palm-trees here and there presented themselves, and there was some "D'hourra," but nothing more. The view to the eastward was much more interesting, although from the flatness of the land, it was extremely limited. Tobacco, corn, sugar-cane, the cotton plant, dates and rice, and the constantly creeking Persian wheels, turned by oxen for the irrigation of the land, furnished altogether a rich and pleasing prospect, especially as in this unusually favoured season, Providence had blessed Egypt, and the crops brought forth so abundantly. "Maashes" and "D'jerms"* laden with goods, slowly descended the Nile, their broadsides to the current; for when there is much wind, the sails are rendered of little use, and these heavy craft are suffered to float down with the stream at the rate of two miles an hour, or perhaps not that. We passed the towns of Niklêh, Amrûs, and Nadir (where we moored for the night), and several smaller villages; we saw a great many cranes on the small sand islands, and now and then some pelicans. Towards evening, the frogs began as usual to be very clamorous; and it is truly astonishing at what a distance their hoarse croaking may be heard. Nearly opposite to Amrûs, the Bahireh canal forms the communication between the Lake Mareotis and the river Nile; and about five or six hours further south, near a place called "Alkam," a canal or river which may be considered a branch of the Nile, and which runs parallel with it in its course from the Said, or Upper Egypt, again unites with the parent stream. Alkam is nearly opposite to Nadir, and the river in question has once been of more im-

* The barges of the Nile, differing only in size.

portance than it is at present; but it still contributes greatly to the comfort and well-being of the inhabitants of the towns through which it passes. It is known by various names in its course; but these all denote one and the same stream. It may be said to commence at the town of Haoû, on the left bank of the Nile, not a great way from Dendera; it soon after flows through Farshoût, Girgêh the former capital of Upper Egypt, Souhadj and Sioût, the present capital of Upper Egypt, to Manfaloût, and further to a place called "Tarût Es Sheriff," where there are some extensive sugar plantations. Thus far, the stream is designated the "Moyé Souhadj," *i. e.* the "Canal, or Water of Souhadj." At Tarût Es Sheriff, the canal takes the name of the "Bahr Youssoûff," the "river of Joseph," and it is also called "El Asarah," and the "Canal of the Pyramids." It passes through a number of villages, and sends off a branch to the Faioûm, at the town of Illaoûm, near Beni Souef, on the Nile; and another to the Nile itself; soon after which, it flows at the base of a pyramid. The valley of the Nile then becoming narrower, the mountains which bound it on the west taking a north-easterly direction, the Bahr Youssoûff between this spot and Cairo, approaches the great river, and flowing nearly along its banks, proceeds through the entire district of the Pyramids, the chief of which are the Pyramids of Dahshoûr, Sakkarah, Abousir, and D'gizeh, and may thus be said to traverse the supposed site of the once great city of Memphis, of which not a vestige now remains. The canal then verging to the north-west, accompanies the Rosetta branch of the Nile by Wardân, and Terranêh, to Alkam, where the two unite. The canal is, at ordinary times, very incon-

siderable; and at certain seasons, very much contracted in its dimensions; but there is no doubt that if its bed were properly attended to, it might be rendered much more useful than it now is. It is only the neglect arising from the want of encouragement to industry, that has permitted the encroachment of the desert, and the consequent obliteration of the canals and rivers, the once numerous tributary streams of Egypt. The same neglect exists still in regard to agriculture, in very many parts, as heretofore; for there is a great deal of land which is regarded as desert, which is capable of cultivation, being merely a parched soil, and requiring water and labour only to cause it to bring forth an hundred fold; but as long as the people work by slavish compulsion, and are allowed to derive no benefit from the harvest, there is nothing to incite them to improve the tillage of their country, to recover the bad soil, or to remedy the waste, and it is not to be supposed that they would feel an interest in the welfare of their ruler, or evince the slightest zeal in his cause. The words of Isaiah have been fulfilled again and again, in times past; and we are once more reminded of them in the present day. The Egyptians have indeed been given over "into the hand of a cruel lord;" and fierce kings have long ruled over them; the waters "have failed," and the rivers have been "waste and dried up," or "turned away." The reeds and flags have withered, and as was particularly foretold, the "paper reeds by the brooks, by the mouth of the brooks, and every thing sown by the brooks," have also withered, and are no more seen;* for the papyrus of which the paper was made, is only to be met with in the Delta, and that but

* Isaiah, xix. 4, 5, 6, 7.

sparingly. As to brooks or other streams, they would now be looked for in vain; and were it not that the Nile regularly overflows its banks, and once a-year inundates the country, the land would not be habitable. When we speak of the encroachment of the desert, we should keep in mind that it is to be attributed, in some degree, to the laziness of man. We passed the night at Nadir. The heavens were studded with stars, and the new moon shone bright: the atmosphere was beautifully clear, and there was not a cloud to be seen in any direction; yet the dew fell thickly, and a short time after sun-set, we began to find it very damp and chill. We can have but a poor idea of the extent to which this country was formerly subdivided by canals. The canal of Menoûf, leading to the town of that name, was even recently very considerable; and its mouth was only closed in 1807, by order of the Pascha, as it was found to interfere with the rising of the waters in other parts; for the French engineers discovered, that throughout the Delta, there is an inclination to the western branch, and that it is therefore necessary to keep the water up as much as possible. Some miles to the westward, in the neighbourhood of the great natron lakes, there are indications of a once fertile country; some poor remains of habitations are still to be seen, but they are the isolated mementos of other days: every thing is now parched and barren. We did not visit Menoûf; but Sir Fred. Henniker, who did, describes it as a large village, abounding in mounds of broken pottery and rubbish, and altogether destitute of ancient buildings, "except that in a mos'que, are some columns of cypoline and granite."* It is considered one of the most fertile and healthy

* "Notes on Egypt," p. 31.

spots in Egypt, and is about twenty-five miles from the bifurcation of the river. On the left bank, about twenty-seven miles from the point or head of the Delta, where is situated the town of "Bain-el-Bakkarah," or, as it has been interpreted, "the cow's belly," is Terranêh, which contains many buildings of unburned brick, interspersed with heaps of rubbish and some sculptured fragments, which sufficiently mark its present degenerated condition. It is now only important on account of its contiguity to the Natron Lakes, and formerly a great deal was prepared there. We are told, however, that the natron was not particularly profitable until Carlo Rosetti, a Venetian merchant, went to Egypt as consul, some years ago: for the cascheffs and other officers used to monopolize every thing to themselves, in the same way as the Pascha does now, exacting from the people who brought it from the lakes. Carlo Rosetti might be said to farm the lakes, just as Mohammed Ali allowed the customs to be farmed in later times; for, by degrees, he got the trade into his own hands, and ultimately, it was granted to him to receive the whole of the produce, on paying a certain sum to the officers, who, as in other matters, were generally open to bribery, and had contrived to get absolute authority there. But some idea may be formed of the extensive operations carried on, by the fact, that one year, the duty paid to the Egyptian government, amounted to no less a sum than 6000*l.* sterling!

CHAPTER VIII.

JOURNEY FROM BAKKARAH TO BOULAC.—THE DELTA.—THE PYRAMIDS.—OBJECTS OF NATURAL HISTORY.—THE MAMLÛKS.—THE CAMPAIGNS OF NAPOLEON, HIS SUCCESS, AND DEFEAT.

THE course of the Nile, from its mouth to Terranêh, lies as nearly as possible N. W. and S. E., and the distance between Damietta and Râschid, in a direct line, is about twenty-seven leagues. The consideration of the canals which cut and subdivide the Delta, is one of the greatest possible interest, whether we regard them as the source of every good, the Delta being the most productive part of Egypt, or speak of them in reference to the ancient condition of the country. In tracing their former course and extent, we are led to the discovery of the original sites of some of the most important towns, and the subject, if properly investigated, may hereafter enable us to elucidate many points of interest. We may depend upon it, there is a rich fund of information at present concealed among the buried ruins of the Delta. It would be well worth the while of any enterprising traveller to devote himself to the study of this district, but he should be a person of superior classical attainments, ardour, and perseverance, and

one to whom neither time nor money is an object. When I speak of the Delta, perhaps I ought rather to say, Lower Egypt, which includes the districts adjoining; for it is deeply associated with the history of our religion, and with scenes described in the Old Testament. I wish I could instil into the mind of some suitable person an enthusiastic spirit for the enquiry. I never yet met with an individual who had resided in this land of mysteries, who did not leave it with regret; and the best informed travellers have always acknowledged that they felt an interest in Egypt which no other country could excite.

After quitting Bakkarah, the point at which the Nile divides, and which, from its convenient situation, must have been most important as a place of commerce, to the ancient Egyptians, the distance is but short to Cairo. There are no towns on either of the banks worth mentioning; nor does the appearance of the land materially differ. It is still flat, and if any thing, less fertile, particularly on the western side, the great Libyan waste approaching nearly to the water: the scenery is therefore chiefly interesting from association of idea, and from the sudden appearance of the Pyramids, rising in the distance, like immense tumuli, from the midst of the wilderness; and though when viewed through the oscillating haze of the intervening desert, most people are mistaken as to their magnitude, and exclaim after the first impulse is over, "What! are those the pyramids?"—they really do surpass everything which the mind has conceived concerning them, notwithstanding it has been raised to an extraordinary pitch by all that we have read or heard, either during the period of infancy, when we lent a willing ear to the marvellous exaggerations of nursery

tales, or since, up to the very moment that we are first permitted to behold them, under all the advantages perhaps of a cultivated taste and an enlightened understanding. It is not easy to convey to others a just idea of the sensation that is experienced by the traveller when he is first told that the Pyramids are in sight. All, with one accord, rush forward to see them! Never, perhaps, did the announcement of inanimate objects create such a general thrill throughout the body, such an enthusiastic glow, such energetic mental excitement, as that of these gigantic monuments of antiquity. The reason is, that, stupendous as they are, nothing is actually known of their origin; no document that has been handed down to us, furnishes satisfactory evidence concerning them; they have been attributed to various individuals, and various purposes and uses have been assigned to them. It is probable that the real truth may long remain veiled in obscurity, and however plausible, and supported by facts or inductive reasoning, the arguments advanced, there will still be difficulties to overcome, doubts will continue to be raised, and disputations to be held. Every one will have his own opinion; for as they are a sealed book, and there is no oracle to consult, their history and object must ever be open to conjecture, until we have fresh data to go upon; and none will be able to set us right, until the study of the hieroglyphics or the discovery of future relics shall enlighten us. In the present day we are accustomed to reason only upon facts, and not to seek facts to confirm our reasoning; and although we do not require a basis for our argument as broad as the foundation of the Pyramids themselves, we nevertheless do require something as tangible, and likely to be as firm and as lasting; but that

the time will come when we shall be able to say something more definite about them, is at least probable. I have already stated my conviction that there remains as much to be unfolded to us respecting Egypt and its antiquities, as we have hitherto been put in possession of. Works of such astonishing magnitude as the Pyramids, must have been undertaken at an enormous expense, even in that day, supposing labour to have cost nothing: they were evidently intended for some important religious purpose, and designed to excite the awe and veneration of the people. A similar effect was produced in each successive generation, long after the mighty projectors of them had passed away from the earth, and mingled with their native dust: they have called forth the wonder of Eastern nations, and of all who ever saw them or held communication with the country; they have been the talk of the whole world, and their influence continues to be felt in the present day. They have resisted every attempt that has been made to remove them; and it would seem that they are destined to remain to the end of time, as monuments to commemorate the days of Noah and his progenitors. We may easily conceive that much would be written about them at various periods, by the Greeks and Romans, Copts, and Egyptians, if not by Oriental nations generally. Let us then hope that some document may have escaped the general wreck of the Alexandrian manuscripts, and that it may one day come to hand. Even the convents in remote districts, may yield some clue to the subject, containing as they do, hoards of musty parchments and antiquated scrolls, of which nothing is known: the idea should, at all events, stimulate us to persevere in the investigation; and I trust that those

especially, who hold authority in the land, will leave no stone unturned, until something bearing upon the question be discovered. Whatever time or money may be expended on excavations, the deciphering of tablets, or the interpreting of hieroglyphics, will then be repaid to us an hundred-fold. Whilst the present magnificent but mutilated remains demonstrate the former prosperous condition of the Eastern world, they remind us that to this source we are indebted for many of the blessings of civilized life. Some of the ancient prophecies have already been fulfilled in a wonderful manner: others are yet to come to pass; and when the proper time arrives, they will assuredly be made manifest; for by the numerous changes which are daily taking place, it is easy to perceive, that the minds of men are unconsciously being prepared for the most important events, and that all things are working together for the accomplishment of the great designs of Providence.

The ecstacy which the traveller discovers when he *first* gets a glimpse of the Pyramids, gradually subsides as he proceeds: there are few who do not appear a little disappointed. At a distance, these gigantic monuments seem to be anything but what they really are; and he is unwilling to believe, that they are worthy of being ranked among the celebrated "wonders of the world." He will do well, however, to suspend his judgment until he has a more favorable opportunity of examining them. I propose, therefore, not to enter further upon the subject at present.

In ascending this, the Rosetta branch of the Nile, we saw some very beautiful birds, particularly those of the Ardea species of "Grallæ," which are described as having cylindrical bills of various lengths, long stilt-

like legs, and for the most part, a long neck, and a short tail. They inhabit moist marshy districts; they feed on amphibia, fish, insects, and water-plants; they build on the ground, or among reeds, and are valuable on account of the delicate flavour of their flesh and eggs. The Grus, or Crane, is somewhat of an ash colour, and is very commonly seen in the low countries of Europe. The Ciconia, or Stork,* the Cicogne of the French, has a white plumage, but pink or red legs, and beak. It, too, is to be found in the more temperate parts of the old world; but England has been so much drained, that except here and there in the low countries, very few are now to be seen. In Holland, however, they are very common. The Stork is a bird of passage, and retires generally to the desert of Africa or Arabia in the winter, where it is sure to find a good reception, and a comfortable home. It lives, not only on amphibia, but often destroys useful animals, young birds to wit—particularly partridges; and it frequently carries away linen, thread, &c., to line its nest. The Heron is similar in its habits, and is very destructive to fish; but it builds in lofty trees, and on the tops of houses; it is so far domesticated, and by the people of the East is held sacred: so much so, that he who is seen to shoot one, stands a very good chance of paying the penalty with his life, if the bystander happen to be armed, which is more than probable. The body of the animal is generally of an ash colour, but bearing patches of black, particularly on the head and neck, and sometimes the tips of the wings. The Pelican, (Pelacanus Onocrotalus,) of which there is so fine a collection at the Surrey Zoolo-

* See an interesting account of the Stork in the Hanoverian Magazine, p. 96. 1809. Also in the Penny Magazine, No. 124, vol. iii., with a sketch.

gical Gardens, is met with in all parts of the world where the climate is warm, and the land low. Blumenbach tells us it has its Greek name from its Ass-like voice, and its German name (Kropfgans), from the enormous bag-like crop hanging from the lower mandible, and so extensible as to be capable of containing "full twenty pounds of water."

Let us now for a moment, revert to the progress of Napoleon Buonaparte in Egypt, to which he had come with a strong maritime and land force, aided by Admiral Brueys, and Generals Kleber and Menou. They effected a landing at the Marabout, and obtained possession of Alexandria, after a severe contest, the loss being considerable on both sides. The ostensible motive of the expedition was the restitution of the legitimate influence of the Porte; but the real object was soon made manifest, and immediately opposed by the English, as we have already seen. After the surrender of Alexandria, the French commenced the ascent of the Nile, directing their attention to the capital. They formed two divisions, one of which proceeded by water, the other by the desert, with an understanding that they should coalesce at the town of Rahmanieh. Here they were met by the Mamlûk Beys, who defended themselves and their country most valiantly; but they were nevertheless unable to cope with the disciplined troops of France. The style of warfare of the Arabs and Turks is very different from that of Europeans, and admits of perhaps a greater display of individual skill and prowess; inasmuch as it may rather be considered a system of skirmishing and single-handedness, than a regular engagement, the issue of which depends not a little, on the experience and wisdom of the general, and on his acquaintance

with military tatics. But, I believe, there is quite as much blood-shed in the one case as in the other, and victory almost invariably declares for discipline and regularity; that is, in the open plain, for the forcing of a mountain-pass is quite a different thing, and at all times a hazardous and bold undertaking, the success of which must depend chiefly on undaunted valour and physical strength. The sacrifice of life is always great on such occasions, and almost certain death awaits those whose thirst for "glory" leads them to make the first advance. Superior numbers have not unfrequently been put to flight by one daring act of intrepidity on the part of a few, which their enemies never for a moment contemplated; and history affords examples without end, of a narrow gorge being defended for hours, by a mere handful of men against a host. Whole armies have been impeded in their march by the irregular, harassing incursions of a few Guerillas, or a party of ignorant peasantry; and many a brave officer, whose services were essential to the success of an important expedition, has been thus singled out from behind a rock or a thicket, when an attack was least of all anticipated!

The Mamlûk cavalry were esteemed some of the finest in the world; but their charges although very terrific, were never conducted in the orderly manner of the Europeans. They were renowned for their horsemanship, and dexterity in the use of the sabre; and the quality of their steeds and their weapons has seldom been equalled, and never surpassed.

They were in no respect deficient as Oriental soldiery; and a braver set of men were no where to be found: added to which, being all fatalists, they were insensible to the terrors of battle; and if at any time

THE MAMLÛK COSTUME.

they fled, it was because they saw the impracticability of carrying their point, and not from any thing in the shape of panic. In all their engagements with the French, they made a most vigorous resistance, and dealt some most tremendous blows; it is even said of them that they handled the sabre with such exquisite skill, and that the steel of their Damascus blades was so highly tempered, that in some of their charges, they were actually known to cut through the bayonet. This appears incredible; but when it is recollected to what perfection the art has been brought, and with what wonderful dexterity the executioner in the East, will, at a blow, sever the head from the body, before even his unfortunate victim is aware that the hand is on the hilt, we can easily imagine such a thing. In the latter case, strength is not so much required as skill and habit; it is done by a peculiar manner of drawing the hand backwards, at the same time that the blow is inflicted, and with such precision is it aimed, that the sign is no sooner given than the fatal sentence is passed.* Osman Effendi, the Scotch Mamlûk, as he

* Sir Walter Scott, with his usual accuracy, alludes to this subject in his description of the interview which took place between Saladin and Richard Cœur de Lion, in Palestine. They were assembled in the Soldan's "splendid pavilion, where was every thing that royal luxury could devise." We read that "it was Richard's two-handed sword that chiefly attracted the attention of the Saracen, a broad, straight blade, the seemingly unwieldy length of which extended well nigh from the shoulder to the heel of the wearer."

"Had I not," said Saladin, "seen this brand flaming in the front of battle, like that of Azrael, I had scarce believed that human arm could wield it. Might I request to see the Melech Ric strike one blow with it in peace, and in pure trial of strength?" The king assented; and at a single blow, fairly severed the steel handle of a solid steel mace into two parts, which fell at the Soldan's feet, to his infinite astonishment! "Something, I would fain attempt," said he, "in return;" for although he was inferior in strength to Richard, he did not forget that each land "hath its own exercises." He accordingly took from the floor a cushion of silk and down, and placed it upright on one end. He then unsheathed his scimitar, a curved and narrow blade, which glittered not like the

has been called, (a Highlander who was second drogueman to the British Consular Agent at Cairo, and of whom I shall soon have occasion to speak,) assured me that with a fine Damascus blade which he knew he could trust, he once effectually shattered a sabre of ordinary manufacture, not by striking, but by simply warding off a blow aimed by another person, and that he would undertake to do the same again under similar circumstances. An English traveller, who thought he had bought a real Damascus blade, having paid a great price for it, and being rather proud of his bargain, felt not a little annoyed when Osman asserted, in rather plain terms, that it was only a piece of iron, and had been made at Stamboul.* The traveller was anxious to put the quality of his weapon to the test, and agreed, at Osman's request, to strike his sabre a smart blow, as he might expect to do in battle; and he was the more stimulated to redeem the credit of his new purchase, when Osman, with a smile, repeatedly warned him of the consequences. "I am certain I shall break it," said he; "but since you will have it

swords of the Franks, but was, on the contrary, of a dull blue colour, marked with ten millions of meandering lines, which showed how anxiously the metal had been welded by the armourer. Wielding this weapon, apparently so inefficient when compared to that of Richard's, the Soldan stood resting his weight upon his left foot, which was slightly advanced: he balanced himself a little as if to steady his aim, then stepping at once forward, drew the scimitar across the cushion, applying the edge so dexterously, and with so little apparent effort, that the cushion seemed rather to fall asunder than to be divided by violence. He afterwards divided a veil or shawl which had been simply laid double upon the blade, "equally displaying the extreme temper and sharpness of the weapon, and the exquisite dexterity of him who used it."—See the Talisman, vol. ii. p. 305-8.

This picture, so far from being overdrawn, is a faithful illustration of what may be witnessed in the present day. In the same volume, we also see with what ease Saladin strikes off the head of the Templar, at a single blow;—a no greater feat than is performed continually in Turkey and in Persia, by the "Nasakchi," or public executioner.

* i. e.—Constantinople, and is a perversion of "εἰς τὴν πολιν."

so,—stand forth: it is far better that it should betray you now, than in the face of an enemy:"—and he deliberately drew forth his scimitar. The traveller produced his, and aimed a terrific blow at the Mamlûk, as though he would indeed have felled him to the earth; but Osman, slipping a little to one side, and drawing his arm gently inwards, with, at the same time, a slight rotation of the wrist, received the full force of his antagonist's weapon, which fell to pieces at his feet; and instantly raising his own, held it over the head of his opponent, which, had he been so disposed, he could have severed from his body in less time than his tongue could have called for mercy. A similar instance of "a strong arm and a keen blade," is stated to have occurred a short time since, at the mess of a cavalry regiment in England. Lieut. C—, of the — Dragoons, undertook for a wager to cut through the middle of a thick iron poker with his sword, in a given number of strokes, and actually did so on the fourth stroke. The temper of the blade was evidently of first-rate excellence; for the edge was not in the slightest degree turned, or otherwise injured. The facts then which I have adduced, are sufficient, I think, to satisfy our minds concerning the truth of the assertion "that the Mamlûks actually did cut through the French bayonets."

What has been pompously styled by our continental neighbours, "the Battle of the Pyramids," comprises a series of skirmishes between disciplined troops and the Mamlûks, who were altogether unaccustomed to "the square," and other regular modes of fighting adopted by the former, and of course suffered most severely; but the action so called, extended to the whole district between Rahmanieh and Cairo. That the French bayonets

and deliberate steady firing should ultimately prevail over men accustomed to depend on their horses and sabres, with reference rather to personal valour than scientific manœuvring, is no wonder: to say nothing of the inexperience of those who commanded the "Crescent," when brought in collision with such men as Buonaparte, Kleber, Menou, Belliard, and others; to wit, Monge, Berthollet, Andréossy, Junot the paymaster, and Bourrienne, secretary to Napoleon, who though not in the military service, nevertheless, according to General Berthier, assisted Perrée in the unequal and dangerous engagement which preceded the battle of the Pyramids, and in which it is alleged, the Turkish flotilla was burnt, though not until upwards of 1500 guns had been fired.*

* The battle alluded to was fought on the 14th of July: it began at eleven in the morning and lasted until half-past twelve. At the same time, Napoleon attacked a corps of about 4000 Mamlûks, near the village of Chebreisse, defeated them, and forced them to retire on Cairo. He had been warned of the condition of Perrée, by the cannonade which he had heard all the morning, and by the explosion of a Turkish gun-boat, and hastened to his assistance; —"otherwise," said he, "not a single Mamlûk had escaped me." Nevertheless, Perrée and the army did not meet until the 23rd of July. He first came in sight of the Pyramids on the 22d, and was told that he was then ten leagues from D'gizeh. He had heard the cannonade of Napoleon, which seemed augmented as the north wind diminished. This raised his suspicion of what was doing by the army; but the first real intimation he received of a serious engagement, and the defeat of the Mamlûks, the most formidable of all their enemies, was that heaps of their bodies were hurried down with the stream to the sea. As his party advanced, they found the villages which had previously taken part against them, now deserted: the firing from the banks gradually ceased, which intimated with tolerable certainty, that the inhabitants of the district knew of the ill success of their countrymen. We are told that until the arrival of the French at D'gizeh, they suffered great privations, living for eleven days on melons and water, and exposed at intervals, to the firing of the Fellahs and Bedoueen Arabs. The swell of the Nile was only beginning on the 23rd of July, when they reached D'gizeh. The march of the French army to Cairo, was attended by an uninterrupted succession of combats and victories. They had won the battles of Rahmanieh, Cherbriesse, and the Pyramids. The Mamlûks were defeated, and their chief, Murad Bey, was obliged to fly into Upper Egypt. On the twentieth day of the campaign, after the battle of Em-

We arrived at Boulac on the evening of Friday, the 26th of February. The sun had set, and the moon

babeh,* opposite Boulac, the port of Cairo, at which, it is said, the Mamlûks had 2000 men killed and wounded, and lost forty pieces of cannon, and a great number of horses. Napoleon entered the capital without opposition, and took up his residence at the house of Elfey Bey, in the great square of Ezbekyeh. He adopted a liberal policy, and assumed the tone and character of a protector. He caused a proclamation to be issued among the people, assuring them that he would respect their laws and customs, and that he had the greatest reverence for their religion: and when he subsequently visited the great pyramid, he even repeated, on entering, the words of the Khoran, so often to be found in the mouth of the Mussulmaun,—"There is but one God! the Lord of all creatures; praised be his name! Mohammed is his Prophet! blessed be God!"

The Scheikhs who surrounded him, all echoed the same, stroked their beards, and acknowledged that he spoke "wisely." Mûrad Bay had retreated towards Sakkharah, and afterwards to the interior as far as Syene, whither he was followed by General Desaix, who found it difficult to subdue the Mamlûks; for they retreated from place to place, and gave him a great deal of trouble. In the mean time, Buonaparte had been to St. Jean D'Acre, where he had to contend with a different enemy, in the person of our gallant countryman, Sir Sidney Smith, and was compelled to raise the siege. He returned to Egypt; and hearing that Mûrad Bey was among the Pyramids at D'gizeh, tried very hard to bring him to a general action, but in vain; Mûrad retired to the Fayoûm in the desert. The Turks then landed about 8,000 men at Aboukir. Napoleon, assisted by Murât, gave them immediate battle, and compelled such as escaped the slaughter, to retreat to the ships. On his return to the capital, he attempted to tranquillize the people, and to conciliate them by every means in his power; he improved their laws; and during the short period that he was among them, civilization rapidly advanced. Whatever he did, was founded on a good and firm basis; and as far as Egypt was concerned, it is to be lamented that he was not permitted to remain: for, by this time, the country would doubtless have been in a happy and flourishing condition.

The destruction of the French fleet, however, by Nelson, which took place just at this crisis, made a material alteration in the state of affairs, and the soldiers became discontented; especially as Buonaparte found a pretext for returning to France, leaving the "grand armée" under the command of General Kleber, who was soon assassinated upon the terrace of his garden, at Cairo. The command then devolved upon General Menou, with whom it continued, and we have seen with what result; for the French treaty with the Porte being rejected, and the British interest prevailing, Admiral Lord Keith and Sir Ralph Abercrombie soon made their appearance on the coast. After the death of the latter, and the success of the British armies at Alexandria, General Hutchinson having materially increased his resources by admitting the sea at Mareotis, commenced

* Seven or eight miles from the Pyramids, though this is the nearest point to them at which I believe there was any fighting.

having not yet risen, we could distinguish nothing but a confused mass of buildings, differing in no respect, from such as we had seen at the various places at which we had moored elsewhere. When the moon was up, we could perceive that we were surrounded by cand'gias and d'germs of all descriptions, and that our company was not likely to be the most select; indeed, Mohammed cautioned us against leaving any portion of our baggage carelessly about; for that pilfering was unfortunately a propensity to which his countrymen were sadly addicted.

operations against the interior; and Rahmanieh was again destined to be the scene of battle. It was considered a stonghold by the French; but they were obliged to surrender it to the British, after a smart action, on the 9th of May, 1801. The English and Turks now sought to effect an union; various skirmishes took place, and the army of the grand Vizir gained a victory over the French, at El Hanka, near Cairo. On the 23d, the Vizir and General Hutchinson met; and soon after, Cairo capitulated. Belliard was then allowed to depart, which was very fortunate; for the English soldiers were beginning to murmur; being not only in arrears of pay, but suffering considerably from dysentery, ophthalmia, and fever, and with a prospect of a tedious siege before them. The troops were therefore overjoyed at the unexpected termination of their labours; and the embarkation of the sick upon the Nile, the disposal of baggage, and the marching of the French army under an escort of English and Mamlûks, presented altogether a most interesting and animated picture. General Hutchinson remained a fortnight at Cairo, to recruit his strength; during which period, a reinforcement arrived under General Coote, and the British force was increased to 16,000 men. General Menou was then at Alexandria; and on the approach of the English, he declared that he would sooner bury himself in the ruins than surrender; but we have already seen that he was induced in a short time to alter his determination: and on the 2d of September he was constrained to propose; for the town was attacked both by sea and by land, and would otherwise shortly have been destroyed.

So much for the campaigns of the two great armies, which we may conceive, paved the way for civilization, inasmuch as they diminished the power of the Mamlûks, and tended to remove a great deal of fanaticism, independently of the exertions of Napoleon in other respects: for the Turks no longer affected to despise the Europeans: but condescended to adopt many of their institutions, and learned to appreciate their laws. I have briefly alluded to these events, as they form an important link in the chain of Egyptian history, and are intimately connected with those of the present day. Several scientific men accompanied the French expedition, and to their labours we are indebted for much useful information. See the works of Denon, Sir Robert Wilson, Reynier, Walsh, &c.

The dew fell very thickly; and we found the atmosphere, wedged in as we were by so many cand'gias, particularly oppressive, more from our locality, I apprehend, than anything else; for the wind was N.W., and the thermometer 60°. We passed a miserable night in consequence; the fleas and mosquitoes interdicted sleep, and we determined to get away from our prison as soon as we could in the morning. Three hours after midnight, overcome with fatigue, and the mosquitoes having gone to roost, we fell unconsciously into a sort of doze, from which we were roused by the chattering of unknown tongues, and we started up, almost together, surprised that the sun was stirring before us. We did not feel much refreshed by our slumber, and having performed our ablutions, and finished our morning meal, we began to make arrangements for debarkation. Just as we were thinking of a start, Mohammed informed us that we could not pass the gates without a teskereh,* that is, with our baggage, and that it would be absolutely necessary to go to the custom-house with it; but that it would be quite safe there. Anything to be emancipated! We settled with our reis, not forgetting backscheesh† for the crew, and set forth once more, full of expectation at the thought of finding ourselves before the gates of Grand Cairo. As we had no janizary with us, a teskereh was absolutely necessary. We therefore determined to leave our baggage with the officers, and afterwards to send a janizary for it. "Let me have a hackney-coach," said Sir Frederick Henniker; "Si, signor, si!" resounded from a crowd of Facchini, and *donkeys* were immediately brought.

Here a similar scene occurred to that at Alexandria.

* Passport. † A present.

We were literally compelled to stand still for a few minutes, in consequence of the multitude of candidates for office, besides the numerous squalid, shrivelled, sickly looking objects, some lame, others blind, by which we were surrounded, and which almost stunned us with their unceasing importunities. Mohammed once more exercised his lungs, and brandished his baton, to clear the way. We could not but pity, and yet it was impossible to look on and not laugh. The performance was ludicrous enough; but, if absolute contact be calculated to extend the plague, we stood a fair chance of coming in for our share. We had become so accustomed to exhibitions of this kind, that we took it all very quietly, too much on the "qui vive" to anticipate evil of any kind; and at the moment, we forgot even the alarming reports that had recently been in busy circulation among the merchants, in consequence of the exaggerated statements that were fathered on Monsieur le docteur Pariset, who it seemed, was determined the people should have the plague, *whether it liked them or not.* Nolens volens almost, I found myself lifted by the ready hands of the Facchini, on to the back of one of the patient little animals that were waiting to transport us to the Egyptian capital, which now lay before us at the distance of about a couple of miles, closely backed by a precipitous mountain ridge, a portion of the Mokattam range, and appeared a somewhat confused mass of buildings, with numerous light and tapering minarets, and between which and us, were interposed the irregularly-built warehouses and neglected habitations of the port of Boulac, the guard-house, the douannes, extensive mounds of rubbish, dust, and broken pottery, the more distant walls, the gates and outworks of the city

and a few scattered gardens, with palm and accacia plantations. Then there were groups of reclining camels being laden and unladen, tranquilly chewing the cud, and awaiting their masters' pleasure; bales of goods also, bardâks of different sizes, and piles of earthen pots.* Moving up and down, were to be seen sakahs or water-carriers, with their huge sheep-skin bags, and decorated with cups; venders of the gourd, yoûart,† sweetmeats, and sherbet, charcoal, eggs, and dates; moreover, idlers, soldiers, porters, boatmen, beggars, Turkish and Egyptian women veiled and unveiled, naked children, donkeys, and dogs, and an almost endless variety of moving objects which, indiscriminately huddled together, tended to obstruct the road, and between which we had to thread our doubtful way. The din was incessant; all tongues were going at once. It was a very Babel: the scene was one of the most extraordinary that could be presented to the eye of a stranger; but every thing looked parched and hot; we were almost choked with dust, and the sun being now fairly up, we began to wax warm; besides we were too much engaged with the multifarious groups around us, and the thoughts which they created, to be at all disposed to submit, just then, to the annoyance invariably occasioned by the douannes. The custom-house was close by, and we experienced no difficulty. We found that we could deposit our baggage there without risk, and that we should be able to proceed immediately. The officers knew that on these occasions, they have for the most part, to do with the European Consuls, and that the

* Bardâks, Egyptian vases or pitchers, which are made at Gheneh, of a peculiar kind of porous clay, and are in common use all over the country, as water-jars.

† Curd.

management of the whole business is intrusted to a janizary: that being travellers and not merchants, we were unlikely to have any contraband goods; and that as those who farmed the customs would neither wish nor dare to examine any thing, their best policy was, to be civil, and to look out for as large a backscheesh as they could; not by any attempt at intimidation, for then they would receive nothing, unless perhaps blows upon the bare feet; but by complimentary language, unmeaning professions, and empty declarations: to wit, "I am your trusty servant!"—"It shall be seen to, Howad'giah! It is all right!"—"El Capitan Inglese! Iva! Taieeb!—taieeb!"—"Insch'allah! (Please God!) may your house prosper!"—"I am a man to be trusted!—Iva!—Masch'allah! (God is great!)" —and so on! Besides, it so happened, that at the time we arrived, they were engaged in a much more profitable manner; the spot was strewed with merchandise; heavy packages obstructed the way, and camels groaning under their cumbrous loads, and foaming at the mouth, as if they were burnt up with thirst; for having arrived from a long and tedious journey, they were delighted to behold the glittering stream before them, and impatient to be relieved of their burdens, that they might partake of the refreshing draught. These sagacious, intelligent animals, were fully conscious of what was doing; and whether they were familiar with the port of Boulac or not, seemed to understand that they were at their journey's end, and that the merchant was about to embark his goods on the Nile, which flowed at their feet.

Europeans have no idea of the sagacity of these docile creatures: the Arabs invariably treat them well; they are to them what the rein-deer is to the Esqui-

maux and the Laplander,—a principal source of their happiness: they furnish them with food, with clothing, with tents, fuel, and utensils, and transport them from place to place, often with merchandise, or with charcoal from the Desert, and in the hour of need, enable them to repel the encroachments of their enemies: they are brought up with their children, and together with their flocks and herds, constitute their entire substance.* In the present instance, the faithful creatures were not mistaken; they appeared uneasy; and, utterly regardless of the strangers who stood by, they turned their swan-like necks about from side to side, and followed their masters with their eyes, wherever they went, unwilling to trust them from their sight; and of their own accord, lay down to be unpacked. Still, impatient at delay, whenever their swarthy owners drew near, they literally spoke: for the sounds they uttered were so pathetic, and so plain, that they could not be mistaken. It was truly delightful to watch the expression of their eyes, and the pleasure they evinced as soon as the grateful task of unlading was commenced.

* By certain of the Arab tribes, camels and dromedaries are used very extensively in their wars, particularly when they have no horses, and in some parts, as in Persia, and India, small guns are mounted on their backs, on a swivel, and they are found extremely useful; for be it remembered, in countries which are very mountainous and thinly inhabited, as also in the Desert, there are no roads, and it would often be impossible to get heavy guns along; whereas the Zamburecki, or camel artillery, usually move very fast, and the animals being once trained, it may easily be supposed, that a very destructive fire might be kept up from them.—The camel travels generally about four miles an hour: the dromedary six or eight, sometimes more; the former is remarkable for his strength, and will carry enormous weights: both are capable of enduring great fatigue, and will go a long time without water: they are not distinguished by the number of humps, as some suppose: they are in fact, varieties of one animal; and stand in the same relation to each other, as the English hunter and the dray, or pack-horse.

CHAPTER IX.

ENVIRONS OF CAIRO AND BOULAC—THE TURBAN—EL HAD'GJ—SALUTATIONS—SCENES AND IMPRESSIONS—ENTRE' OF THE IMPERIAL CITY—"ET MAIDAN," AND "BIRKET ES-BEQUIEH"—REFLECTIONS—THE FRANK QUARTER—HOTELS.

THE caravan just mentioned, and another which now began to arrive, and whose approach was previously indicated by a long line of camels slowly advancing in the distance, offered a prospect of a much richer booty than was likely to be obtained from those who like ourselves, belonged to the favored of the land. The officers had therefore something better to think of than turning over our pots and pans, provision box, sacs de nuit, leathern portmanteaus, &c. &c., the ordinary paraphernalia of the Franks, and the ransacking of which could have gratified nothing but their curiosity. A few piastres settled the business, whereas they might have been deprived of their fee altogether, if they had thought fit to give us any trouble. They appeared satisfied with their bargain; and when informed that a janizary from the British Consular Agent, Mr. Champion, would shortly come down for our baggage, they very courteously replied "Taieeb! taieeb! taieeb getir!"* and having, by permission, narrowly inspected our English fire-arms, articles which are sure to attract notice in the East, and to call forth

* Good! very good!

a few "W'allahs!" "Ad'joivas!" and other expressions of wonder and satisfaction, stroking of beards, and so forth—they suffered us to depart. It is considered here, as in Europe, necessary to observe some sort of form as a check upon travellers, or they would have allowed us to proceed at once. The leader of the newly arrived caravan, a tall, athletic, hard-featured Arab, with an intelligent, sparkling black eye, and a dark, swarthy complexion, now advanced, leading a dromedary, from which it seems he had just dismounted; the small green turban marked him for a Had'gj—that is, one who considers himself a descendant of the Prophet, or who has made the holy pilgrimage. Two of the officers went forward to meet him, a mark of respect which no doubt he owed to the colour of his turban, a point of infinite importance in every Mohammedan country. By it, and the forms and variety of its folds and bearing, may every man be known, his country, tribe, and religious creed; and he is dealt with accordingly. A native will almost name the particular district to which a stranger belongs, by the number and direction of the folds, their thickness, position and density: the colour refers chiefly to religion, and points out the sect or party.

White indicates Mohammedanism generally, without reference to any particular creed, and in some parts of the country, it would subject a Christian to considerable inconvenience and insult if he were to adopt it. At a later period, when entering the gates of Damascus, I was compelled to take off my turban, and also to lead my horse through the streets.

Green, the favorite colour of the Prophet, is the exclusive badge of his supposed or reputed descendants, and of the pilgrim who, having worshipped at the holy tomb, also takes the title of Had'gj. Although no

doubt, there are very many imposters who find it convenient to assume the garb of sanctity, still this is an understood privilege, openly acknowledged and sanctioned by all true Mussulmauns, and granted to them, and them alone; they are thought to have a peculiar claim to respect and veneration; yet it often happens, that such persons are only wise in proportion to their cunning, and surpass their countrymen in nothing but ignorance, superstitious pride, and the most degrading fanaticism. They are not unfrequently insolent and overbearing.

Dark blue is the colour assigned to the Jew; and of it I need only say, that it is despised and scoffed at wherever it is seen! Black denotes the Christian, whether Catholic, Protestant, Dissenter, or what not. Until of late, the Mohammedan acknowledged no difference, and knew none. In his eyes, a Jew was a Jew—a man of no religion at all; a Christian was a Christian—one who professes *very little;* and he still thinks that the true believer, viz. the devoted follower of Mohammed, is alone entitled to inherit the earth, or to be received into Paradise hereafter!—Red, yellow, and other colours may be adopted by any individual, according to his caprice or fancy. The best definition that can perhaps be given of a Frank, is that he is strictly, neither a Mussulmaun nor a Jew: for it matters not whether he be a native of England, America, France, Italy, Germany, Spain, or Russia,—he is still a Frank, and supposed to be a Christian: of course, he ranks as such, and is expected to wear the black turban, that men may know him: nevertheless, there is not now the same objection as formerly, to Christians wearing the white turban if they please; but on no account can they presume to defile the

livery of Mohammed! this would amount to sacrilege, and would hardly be forgiven! The Armenians are Christians, and usually wear the black turban, or colpac,* but although they are known to be Christians, and have at various times been severely persecuted as such, they are considered quite distinct from the Franks, as are also the Christians of Abyssinia. The green turban then, it will easily be supposed, is almost an universal passport in the East; there are few things which may not be accomplished among Mohammedans through its influence, and it often becomes a cloak for all kinds of knavery! Thus, he who bears the title of Had'gj, may pass himself off for a religious devotee, and yet be worthy the appellation of parasite, hypocrite, cheat, swindler, quack, rogue, thief, and impostor. What says the proverb? "The Kh'oollah† does not always make the Dervish!" The Arabs are quite aware of this, and do not *all* believe implicitly what they are told: they find it necessary sometimes to act with caution, and have a saying to this effect.—"If a man has made the pilgrimage to Mecca *once*, let him be suspected:—if he has been *twice*, mistrust him;—but if he has been a *third time*, avoid him: for he is a dangerous character."

It was easy to perceive that our Had'gj was a man to be respected, and that he found favour in the sight of the officers: the usual compliments were interchanged, and the latter bade him welcome to Boulac. As the other camel drivers and attendants passed, they uttered each in rotation, their "Salaam aleikoom," moving the right hand gently over the left breast,

* A large globular hat or cap peculiar to these people.

† The Kh'oollah or Keerkah is a peculiar long robe worn by the Dervish; a sort of Caftan, for the most part, tattered.

which was cordially received by all parties, and as cordially returned. There is something very beautiful and impressive in this form of salutation: it is not only graceful and elegant, but it conveys with it, a feeling of sincerity and warm-heartedness: in the East, it is regarded with a degree of sacred veneration; so much so, that in crossing the Desert, or wandering in any remote district, where it is necessary to be on one's guard against robbers and bad characters, and where the approach of a stranger is always viewed with suspicion,—this is the invariable test of character. It matters not who or what the people are,—be they rich or poor, numerously attended or alone, in rags or well caparisoned,—the salutation is offered—"Salaam aleikoom! (peace be with you)," accompanied by the usual sign. If, the parties are friendly disposed, they immediately return it with the words, "Aleikoom Salaam," and pass on, mutually trusting to good feeling. Neither would hesitate to ask advice or assistance, and they would defend one another in the hour of danger. If however, on the other hand, the persons were evilly inclined, they would return no answer, but sulkily continue their route. This I have frequently experienced; and it must always be received as a hint that we are not to be surprised at any thing that may afterwards happen. It is possible that the robbers, if such they really are, hesitate to attack, only because they find themselves inferior in number, or in strength: they may be on a reconnoitering expedition; perhaps it is inconvenient, their comrades being out of sight, though nevertheless within call if actually needed; or they may be bent on some more important errand, and having scrutinized us, may not think that we are worth their time and trouble,—powder, or shot! Be this as

it may, however ferocious their looks, and desperate their intentions,—however little we may be indebted to them for mercy or forbearance, we may depend upon it, they will not return our "Salaam," if they are conscious that they are on a predatory excursion, and know that they only refrain from injuring us because it suits them! There is a great deal of affection and brotherly love among the Bedoueens. When friends meet after an absence, they often kiss, and embrace, knee to knee. The practice of males saluting is very ancient. Judas betrayed the Saviour with a kiss; and there are many passages in the sacred volume, which refer to the friendly greetings and peaceful exclamations in use in the earlier ages, and which, like the above, betoken harmony, and good-will to man.*

We, too, uttered our "Salaam," and receiving one in return from the whole party, camel drivers and all, set forth, headed by Mohammed, at peace with every one, and in good humour with ourselves; except that, as on previous occasions, we had rather an uneasy seat, our knees threatening to wage war with our eyes. However, we were beginning to get a little used to the Turkish saddle; but ever since our departure from Alexandria, we had found the tight European costume getting more and more irksome, and less suited to the climate or the customs of the country.

Emerging from the dense buildings of Boulac, we found ourselves (as is commonly the case at the outskirts of towns,) almost smothered with dust, and in the midst of dirt and rubbish. The little animals ran quickly on, followed by four ragged, dirty urchins on foot, vociferating as at Alexandria, with all their might,

* Matthew xxvi. 48. Luke xv. 20. Genesis xxxiii. 4. Ruth ii. 4. 2 Samuel xx. 9. John xiv. 27.—Matthew v. 47.

alternately in praise of their donkies, in broken Italian to us,—and to the people to get out of the way, in Arabic, as they went; as if conscious that they had got a good job, and that a larger fee than ordinary awaited them on their arrival. We were hurried forward in spite of our desire to the contrary, the only answer returned, being a sort of vacant stare and a grin, which plainly indicated that we were not understood; then followed an extra poke or two on the hinder parts of the donkies, with a stick, either cut to a point, or having a rusty nail at the end of it; and "Iva! Howad'giah!*—Taieeb!—'Ommar, taieeb!'† —lachez le bride!—(another poke) taieeb! buono, Signore!—Riglak! Riglak!—(take care! take care! out of the way!) lachez, lachez—Riglak!—taieeb! Frangi! — Capitan; — Iva — buono!—Si!" — almost every word being accompanied by a look of conscious merit and self-satisfaction, and a blow or a poke to the poor donkies, which *wriggled* to one side, and spun along with additional speed! We soon left the suburbs of Boulac behind us, and entered a more open space: our road then wound round a few dusty hillocks, with here and there, a solitary palm. We encountered a great number of people of various denominations, all apparently on business, some on foot, a few on horseback, the cumbrous gaudy trappings rattling as they went; but almost all squatted, like our old friend Hamed, on donkies. We did not see one person who was attired in the Frank dress:—all wore the turban, except the soldiers of the Nisam, the sailors and the Greeks, who were alike to be distinguished by their close, red tabousch,‡ and closer fitting trowsers.

We had not proceeded far, ere we arrived at the outer

* Yes! Sir! Taieeb! good! † Good donkey. ‡ The red cloth cap.

barrière of the city; and here, if we had had any luggage, we should have been required by the "keshek-chis*" to show our teskereh. As it was, we met with no impediment, and were permitted to proceed. After we had passed these gates, the buildings became more distinct, and our expectations relative to Cairo were considerably raised; the minarets appeared to more advantage, and the towering citadel added not a little to the consequence of the great metropolis. We soon entered what is termed the gate of "Es-Bequieh:" the "Bostangee" or sentinel, was lounging about, and seemed I thought, half inclined to sit down at his post; for any use that he was of, he might as well have taken himself off altogether. He took no notice of any one; nor, I fancy, of anything. There were several persons besides ourselves, and as we advanced across the large square or "Maidan," known by the same title, and near which is also the celebrated "Birket" or pool of "Es-Bequieh," the numbers very materially increased, and there appeared a greater variety of costumes. As yet, we had only seen those perhaps who were in the habit of passing on business between Cairo and Boulac; but we soon found ourselves in the midst of a dense crowd, and we paused for a moment, to look behind us at the wild spot which we had just traversed: there were several large houses and palaces, if not within it, overlooking it; here it was that Buonaparte pitched his tent; and many buildings, destroyed by the French army, have never been restored, which gives the whole place a ruinous aspect. Nevertheless, it is much frequented by the Caireens, who come to take "the dust," especially towards evening, when the atmosphere is somewhat cooled, and still more, during high Nile!

* The guards of the city gates.

There are a few sycamores, which afford a little shelter to the cattle; and here and there, may be seen an insignificant patch of grass. Formerly this was a much more important situation than it is at present; and during the influence of the Beys and Mamlûks, it no doubt wore a very different complexion. A large house was pointed out on the left, as being that in which the French General Kleber, lived and died. It belonged, I believe, in after times, to the Defterdar Bey, who married a daughter of Mohammed Ali.* He was said to be the richest private individual in Egypt. Kleber's assassination took place in the garden attached to this house; but not even the terrace, or the well where the assassin hid himself, is to be seen now, every thing having been altered since that time. There are many domiciles in this neighbourhood which are distinguished from the rest by their appearance; they belong to persons of consequence, but convey no idea of nobility to an European, whose mind reverts with peculiar satisfaction, to the lovely villas and noble mansions of the great in his own country, and whose imagination may have been too highly raised by what he has either heard, or read, of the enchantments of the East! Whoever comes to Egypt with such notions, will find himself most grievously disappointed. There is often a great deal of splendour in the interior of buildings, but the outside of them is generally dilapidated, mean, and irregular; the windows are latticed, and open chiefly into a court or quadrangle, and the whole is perhaps inclosed by dull, heavy, brick walls, with portals, like the gates of a fortress. Some of the dwellings have small, stone-girt gardens attached to them, with a

* Some say, a sister. The Defterdar Bey is collector of the revenue: See Chap. IV.; also Vol. II. Chap. VI.

fountain or well in the midst: but however agreeable these may be, they are neither elegant, nor picturesque; they are refreshing to look at, but not to be compared with those which we are accustomed to behold in Europe. The houses are built in this way, for the sake of protection during troublesome times, or to render the inhabitants secure from the gaze of strangers in a public city; but they give a sombre heaviness to the streets, themselves narrow and confined, which is any thing but pleasing. The mos'ques are truly magnificent, and offer to our view some noble specimens of Arabian architecture.* A Turkish kiosk or summer-house, on the banks of a bright stream tastefully planted, is also a picturesque object; but certainly there is nothing to admire in the generality of Mohammedan town residences. On emerging from this the Maidan or great square of Cairo, which is, after all, only a part of the suburbs (though it would become a very nice place in the hands of Europeans), we entered the narrow, crowded streets of the city itself, and never shall I forget them: the noise and bustle of Boulac were nothing to that which we experienced here.

We had long ceased to think that we were in *fairy land*, and the legendary tales of the nursery had lost their influence: but if any particle of romance yet lurked within us, our first entré into grand Cairo was more than sufficient effectually to eradicate it. Instead of beholding splendid, light, and airy buildings, with Arabes'que, ornamental towers, gilded domes, and pinnacles, over-hanging gardens, large and spacious courts, with tents and awnings, magnificent playing fountains, obelisques and temples, adorned with variegated embossed ornaments, trellis work, allegorical figures, in-

* See Mr. Hay's Illustrations of Cairo.

scriptions, and gracefully flowing, rich, and party-coloured pavilions,—we were hurried by the same kind of vortex by which we had been hitherto impelled, into streets so narrow that they ought rather to be denominated winding courts, or interminable dingy lanes; for they constantly communicate with each other, and are bounded on either side, by lofty ruinous walls, with only here and there a window, unglazed, and latticed with wood. The crowd was so great that it was hardly possible to move, and sometimes we stood a very good chance of being jammed up between a camel and a stone wall. Never, perhaps, was a more motley group brought together within any one given space; the way was completely obstructed by objects moveable and stationary! To say nothing of mounds of earth and unburnt *powdering* bricks, which here and there clogged up the road, and stalls of all kinds, there were asses, horses, and camels, and foot passengers of every denomination and degree: to wit, — water-carriers, pedlars, barbers, beggars, saints, and women, naked children grubbing in the dirt, charm-venders, quack doctors, Arabs of the Desert, Turks, soldiers, and merchants, Franks, Greeks, and adventurers, the Ulemah, sellers of sherbet, sugar, and honey, serpent-charmers with immense snakes, though venomous, coiled about their arms and neck, apparently in a torpid state, rat-catchers, negroes and fortune-tellers, retailers of "smoke,"* fakirs, lepers, jugglers and mountebanks, all passing and repassing in pursuit of their particular business, and many of them proclaiming their respective

* Men who go about with a bundle of pipes under their arm, and for the value of a parah, accommodate those who are too poor (and they must be poor indeed!) to possess a pipe and tobacco of their own. Mohammed Ali's father was a member of this profession. Of course all such persons, like the barbers, are accomplished gossip-mongers.

avocations. The uproar that is produced in consequence, may pretty well be guessed at; moreover, the soil is of a light sandy nature, and as there is nothing in the shape of pavement, a dust is sent forth in one continued cloud, the particles of which are so fine, that they get into the throat and eyes, ascend into every chamber, and render themselves particularly obnoxious to clock-work and other machinery. In the bazaars, where quantities of valuable goods are exposed to view, the dust is effectually laid by sprinkling the ground with water, from time to time. If this were to be neglected, considerable losses would be sustained; canvass is also thrown across from the roofs of the shops, to keep out the sun at mid-day; and upon the whole, some of the bazaars are rendered not only very amusing and highly instructive places, as I shall have hereafter to illustrate, but also very cool and pleasant; that is, when we are inclined to sit down at one of the shops or stalls, and smoke a quiet pipe with the more intelligent merchants.

It has often been remarked by Londoners, that strangers who come from the sweet and verdant hills and wholesome dells of happy England, to visit their friends in the metropolis, require to have their "eyes about them;" and it is related of a simple country lass, that when she alighted from the stage coach, she became alarmed, and begged her mother to wait and let the "crowd go by," for "sure it must be fair-day!" And who that is acquainted with the bustle of the city, has not seen an honest husbandman so bewildered and confused, that at last he has stood stock-still in a nook, to consider what to do next,—call a coach in despair, having lost his way,—or turn up a court to consult his map?—If such observations are applicable in London,

they are doubly so in Grand Cairo, where, unfortunately, the names of the streets are not written up, neither is there any sign or beacon for our guide, and there is of course no map to consult—no place of refuge—no hackney coach—but twice the bustle and confusion;—where cleanliness is altogether disregarded; and where there are so many disgusting sights,—so much sickness, blindness, and real misery,—consequently so many wretched objects of charity to distract the mind;—an almost infinite variety of characters, nations, costumes, and languages,—so much mingling of "unknown tongues," such narrow streets that there is hardly space sufficient for one camel, if laden, to pass another,—so much heat, thirst, dust, and excitement,—so many offensive smells,—so much to interest and amuse,—so many, and such curious associations arising from whatever is presented to the eye, or may happen to catch the ear,—and such a multiplicity of themes for reflection and study, that four-and-twenty hours in the day are insufficient to collect and digest what may chance to have arrested the senses of even the most common observer!—It is worthy of remark that not only in Egypt, but in Turkey, Syria, and other countries of the East, the manners, customs, usages, tastes, feelings, and inclinations of the people, whether they refer to trifles or things of consequence, differ most materially from that which is generally adopted, recommended, or admired, in Europe. In regard to many things, the very opposite to that which we practice is had recourse to, and in some respects, with reason. Even refinement may be carried to an extreme; and it decidedly is so, when it tempts us to conceal our natural feelings, and to lay aside that which reason and inclination prompt, for the sake of what has possibly nothing to recommend

it but the sanction of the "élites!" Many have been induced by fashion to sacrifice their comforts and happiness; and have become dissatisfied with their condition, and unfit for the enjoyments of social life, which after all, are before every other. There is no such thing as a free interchange of honest feeling among the votaries of pleasure: for honesty is incompatible with the taste which guides them; and I do say, that such persons might possibly be led to acknowledge (could they be eye-witnesses of many things which come under the notice of the Oriental traveller) that the present state of society in Europe is artificial and unmeaning, and that some of the "contraries" adopted and practised by the rude and illiterate persons who follow the simple dictates of nature and *common sense*, are worthy of our imitation! The introduction of luxury creates new desires; and the wants of man increase the more they are gratified: just as thirst may become insatiate if we refuse to control the appetite. Having once exchanged the simplicity of the cottage for the pomp and glitter of the court, we acquire new tastes, and are led to adopt many things for which at first, we had a decided aversion: we are allured by false appearances, and the insinuating flattery of our associates, until at length, the object of our dislike is set before us in such a fascinating garb, that it is irresistible. We imperceptibly fall into the snare, and when it is too late, we discover that we have been in pursuit of a "Will o' the whisp" after all: and how to extricate ourselves from the dilemma, is perhaps a problem not easily solved. Although I should be very sorry to see a similar state of society in England to that which generally prevails in the East, I am not so bigoted to the opinions of my countrymen, as to wish to draw a

veil over their foibles. By studying the character and disposition of those who have been differently brought up, and by comparing our relative condition, we may hope to benefit both ourselves and others: but if we refuse to profit by our experience, we shall travel to little purpose.

Cairo, like London or Paris, is indeed, the world in miniature. Human beings come into it and go out of it—they toil and labour, and for a time, flourish; but, such is the bustle, noise, deception, and disguise, that they pass through it and are hardly seen. The tide of prosperity and adversity runs equally strong; there is a continual current and interchange of fortune; some rise with and glide smoothly down the stream, regardless of the passing objects; others, less favored, meet with endless impediments to their advancement: some have to struggle with the storms of adversity, having possibly neglected the opportunity when it served; very many are shipwrecked in consequence of their own imprudence, and led by impetuosity to commit some rash deed; whilst others, hurried away by the whirl-pool of ambition, sink down and are lost in the quick-sands of oblivion. As in the world at large, therefore, so in the streets of Cairo! It is indeed necessary to have the "eyes about one," and to watch! otherwise we shall stand a good chance of being overpowered, and disabled for ever. Where there is such a multitude of moving beings, all hurrying forward in the same narrow space, and for the most part, regardless of nothing but their individual good, it is not to be supposed that those who have got the middle of the path, will step out of the way for the convenience of another, or sacrifice their own comfort and advantage, to promote the welfare of a stranger in whom they

take no particular interest. I have heard it asserted by the worldly-minded and morose, that there is no such thing as friendship. I am not such a Cynic as to believe this. Thank God! I have reason to know the contrary. Where all are seeking their own interest, it may be a *rare* commodity; but he who has *no* friend, and is himself a friend to *none*, is truly an object of pity! It is nevertheless true that in the world, however a man may be disposed to assist a fellow-creature, it is incumbent upon him to do the best he can for himself. If he has a family to support, he must depend on his own exertions, and not on the professions of other people. It is hard to be obliged to suspect our neighbour, but experience teaches that in the transactions of life, all are not equally sincere, and that caution is necessary: or, as in the narrow, crowded streets of Cairo, we shall soon be cast down, and trampled under foot. We almost expected that such would literally have been our fate before we reached our place of destination: for the donkey boys hurried us along with so much rapidity, addressing themselves now exclusively to the various objects as we proceeded, that what with the incessant jargon and bustle, the irksomeness of our seat, and the prospect of being every moment rolled beneath the unwieldy feet of a camel, and being already choked with the heat and dust, we began to feel quite sick and blind. Nevertheless, onward we went, jolted, and jostling one another, until at the end of a narrow lane or alley, through which we were threading our way by means of the coorbash,* and the bastone, aided by the persuasive eloquence of "Riglak! Riglak! Shemalek! Shema-

* "Coorbash"—a long buffalo's tendon, which is in general use as a thong or riding whip.

lek! Riglak! Shemalek!"*—behold! a line of huge camels slowly advancing, one behind the other, in funereal procession. Their heavy cumbrous loads adding to their naturally bulging sides, they seemed actually to fill up the entire space, and that to pass would be impossible; yet there was no retreating, no escape! The animals seemed almost to reach with their long necks to the windows of the houses, and occasionally paused to sniff at some object which attracted their sensitive olfactories. The street was so narrow that no division could be seen between them: they looked like some huge, unearthly monster, rolling along the unwieldy folds of its hideous body, within which we were likely soon to be ingulphed: when suddenly a cry from the driver behind, or from the leader, a Bedoueen who sat on the pinnacle of the foremost, composedly smoking his pipe, utterly regardless of the *mites* around him,—unmercifully urged them forward; and on the other hand, our own unrelenting guides, equally heedless of our condition, goaded us "de nuovo," from behind!—"Riglak! Riglak! Shemalek!" The monster approached; and by some unaccountable miracle or other, we contrived, by creeping into a corner, and squeezing ourselves into *nothing*, to just get past, *piano, piano!* and with no further damage than a grazed leg, and a long slit down the side of our best inexpressibles!

Fortunately for us, by this time our moustaches had begun to assume a decently ferocious aspect; so we determined, instead of seeking out a Frank tailor, to repair to the bazaar, have our heads shaved, let our beards grow, assume the turban, and turn Mussulmaun; at least, *quoad externals*. We

* "Take care! look to your legs! To the left!"

discovered that our nimble-footed Caireen conductors, through some misunderstanding, pretended or real, had taken us to a more remote part of the town first, and had subsequently brought us back, by one of their own *near cuts*, preferring the *bye-way* to the high-way, of course: and hence the reason of the camel adventure! —"Confusion on their heads!"

Entering once again the principal thoroughfare, an insignificant narrow turning to the right brought us at length, by a large wooden gate, to the entrance of the "Frank quarter," and more particularly to the "Hotel de France," the chief European resting place. But as we had no baggage, we designed to go at once to the house of the English Consul, which was close at hand; and two minutes more brought us to the spot.*

* The traveller may be accommodated among the natives if he prefer it; and those who have resided some time in the East, generally go direct to the "khan," or "kervanseral," of which there is always one, if not two, in every city. The oriental inns are for the most part at the outskirts, or just within the gates, of the town: they consist of a large court, in the centre of which is a tank or fountain: the sides are built like cloisters, with niches or vaults for the horses and dromedaries; and above these, are apartments with a long gallery in front of them. The lodgings are mere cells—nothing but bare walls, covered with dust and vermin: sometimes a ragged mat is found in one corner, swarming with fleas; but there is no furniture of any kind, as every man carries his own mattrass, provisions, and cooking utensils. The entrance to the khan is by huge portals, near whichf is a chamber or hall for the better class of merchants to assemble in. The superintendant can furnish coffee and "tibbin," or chopped straw for the horses. In the larger cities a cook's shop is attached, and there is a barber hard by.—See page 283. Read the "Khan's Tale of the Caravanseral;" by Fraser. Also Luke ii. 7.

CHAPTER X.

CAIRO—THE BRITISH CONSULATE—TURKISH NOTIONS OF FRANKS—OSMAN THE MAMLUK—HUMAN LIFE—THE EXILE — MESSRS. MALTASS AND ROBINSON — GALLOWAY BEY—HINTS TO TRAVELLERS, ETC.

We reached Grand Cairo, or, as it is commonly written, "Kahira," on Saturday the 27th of February. The consul's house was a plain, substantially built edifice, with latticed windows placed for the most part at some height above the divan, which furnished each side of the chief apartments. We entered by a spacious court, and sent our drogueman to announce our approach, thinking ourselves very fortunate in finding Mr. Champion at home; for it is on the stranger's first arrival in an Oriental city, that he first needs advice.

We were ushered into a large, oblong room, furnished with carpets, divan, and other necessaries adapted to the habits of the East; for as I have already stated, the customs of the Franks resident in Egypt, assimilate very much with those of the natives: and of course the European merchants find it consistent, so to regulate their time, as to suit their convenience:—besides, the climate renders such regulation both agreeable and necessary.

Mr. Champion had just been taking his mid-day nap, and was preparing to go out, when we were

introduced. He had already been apprised of our coming by Messrs. Robinson and Maltass, who, having taken a more direct route from Alexandria, reached Cairo first. Pipes, coffee, sherbet and sweetmeats, were brought in quick succession; and we found ourselves comfortably seated on the divan: (at least as comfortably as "tights" would permit!)

Understanding that it was our intention to visit the interior, the consul advised us on no account to delay, as the season was advancing, and the Nile was beginning to get low; a circumstance which we ought not to overlook, as it might subject us to considerable inconvenience and loss of time. He recommended that we should proceed to the Cataracts as soon as convenient, and stay at Cairo on our return; when we could shape our future course as we pleased. "But," added he, "if you determine to remain here now, your best plan will be to engage a private dwelling house." He then proceeded to describe the Frank quarter. He said we could be very well accommodated at the hotel, but that we ought to have a clear understanding with our host, and be wary of his inmates: for that we should find among the loiterers there, a curious admixture of character; and he kindly promised to send a person with us to make the necessary arrangements.* For this mark of his attention, we were very grateful, being already excited and fatigued. We were not particular: all we wanted was an asylum from scorpions, fleas, lice, and mosquitoes—some wholesome, decent spot on which to lay our head in peace—neither a "mad-house, a

* Thanks to the exertions of Messrs. Waghorn, Hill, Raven, and Co., the future traveller will have no difficulty: every accommodation being now provided, as in Europe.

prison, nor a lazaret,"*—though truly a refuge for the destitute; for we had not yet overcome the feverish effects of our last night's *attempt at repose*, on board the cand'gia at Boulac, surrounded as we were, by vermin, noise, filth, and Arab song! Neither had we recovered from the effects of our late "rough riding," of which the deplorable condition of our "culottes" bore ample testimony! We had all cracked a joke at their expense, and were talking over other important matters relative to lodgings, tailors, beards, baggage, guides, and so forth—forgetting, in our zeal for our own affairs, that we were probably interrupting those of our entertainer. We had already smoked out our third "t'chibouque," and emptied as many "find'-gians"† of strong coffee, (sans lait, sans sucre;)—the consul would have called for more, but finding that we were bent on leaving, he made us promise to return in the evening, "when," said he, "I shall be able to introduce you to Galloway Bey and Monsieur Piozin, to whom you have letters; you will also meet your friends Maltass and Robinson, who propose to make a journey to Thebes: you will then have an opportunity of discussing a variety of subjects, and of digesting your future plans." So saying, he clapped his hands three times. An Arab servant appeared, and was commanded to send one of the janizaries. He replied

* The motley group that usually inhabit the Frank quarter at Cairo, indulge in such excesses, that they have obtained for Europeans a bad name among the sober-minded Turks and Arabians, who are very much of opinion that a Frank is alternately "mad, rebellious, and diseased," and that he becomes, sooner or later, a suitable object for each of the three delectable residences above mentioned. Their idea is chiefly taken from the employés, and those engaged in the service of the Frank merchants. The conduct of these people is often so disorderly, that the authorities, with a view to prevent quarrels between them and the natives, order the gates of the Frank quarter to be closed every night!

† A very small cup, in which, in these countries, coffee is served.

in his native tongue, and passing his right hand over his left breast, making at the same time a respectful inclination of the head, immediately withdrew to execute his master's orders. The janizary came, and with him, Osman Effendi, the second drogueman. The former was dispatched to Boulac with full instructions about our luggage, and we were not a little surprised when the latter opened his mouth, to recognize, in the Mamlûk before us, a native of North Britain. He was a tall, fine man of about fifty years of age, with rather a stern aspect, fair, clear complexion, and powerful limbs. Mr. Champion was about to give him directions relative to the hotel, and would have commissioned him to engage suitable apartments for us; but Osman recommended to our notice a countryman of the name of Bell, who was living at Cairo with his wife and family, and rented a house belonging to himself, which was situated in the Turkish quarter. Of course we gave him the preference. We then took our leave, anticipating the delights of an hour or two's repose. We did not forget our friend the German, and sent to inform him that he could be accommodated in the same house with us, if he liked. The old man lost no time in joining us. While dinner was preparing, we stretched our limbs upon the divan, and, protected by a mosquito net, soon fell into a sound sleep. After dinner, Osman paid us another visit, and introduced "mine host" to our acquaintance. He was a person of sulky, gloomy aspect, apparently not much accustomed to control his temper, and given, as we afterwards found, to drinking: however, he was civil enough to us. Osman could not be prevailed on to wet his lips until his friend's back was turned: for it was "Rhamad'han," and he kept up the farce of Islamism even in Bell's

presence: although, no doubt, the latter had long since discovered that he made it more a matter of convenience than any thing else, and that he found it expedient with the Mussulmaun garb, to assume the manner, and, as he would have it believed, the religion also! This, however, was best known to himself. Suffice it to say, that he was rigid in the laws of his "Anderoon," *professed* to drink no wine, to eat no pork, and in fact, to conform to the established usages of Mussulmaun society! To his countrymen, however, (at least to those who, like ourselves, would appreciate his meaning,) he openly acknowledged that he was still a Christian: though living as he did there, and taking into account all that he had endured since he left his native land, having once found it *absolutely necessary* to pass himself off for a Mohammedan, it would have been attended with some inconvenience to him to have thrown aside the mask. He informed us, that during a very long residence in the East, it had fallen to his lot to act in various capacities, and that he had made the acquaintance of several of the resident Turks and Arabs, some of whom he respected for their good qualities: that these believed him to be sincere in his religious professions, and it would advantage him nothing to undeceive them; that there had been times, when his very existence depended upon his practising this deceit; and that there was no telling to what insults he might even then be subjected, (notwithstanding so many improvements had taken place) were he to act differently. He seemed to be perfectly acquainted with the language, and so familiar with the habits and customs of the Arabs, that they had almost become natural to him. He understood their laws, pretended to observe their fasts, the duration and suc-

cession of which he regularly marked, and like poor Burckhardt, studied to respect their prejudices; and, at least, as regards externals, to let it be thought that he was thoroughly devoted to the "true faith." Under ordinary circumstances, Osman would have been despised for his seeming apostacy; but the Arabs had been reconciled by the length of his residence, and the kindness which they had from time to time, experienced at his hands. He continued, therefore, to act as if he had indeed changed his religion, and become one of the most sincere followers of the Prophet. "Adversity," says the wise man, "is a great alterative." The star of Osman had been, at one period, on the decline, and he might with justice have been styled "a child of sorrow;" but latterly, fortune seemed to have smiled, and he profited by his experience. The fact is, Osman had been in exile—a slave among the enslaved: yet he bore all with patience and fortitude, and contrived in the evil hour, when he had barely escaped the sword, to blind the eyes of his oppressors, "laugh at their beards," and make them "eat dirt!" "Allah! Allah! il Allah!" he would exclaim: "Fate is a wonderful thing—Who can withstand the decrees of destiny? Mash'allah!" and then he would take forth his pocket Khoran, and read!* If he did not pray so often as others, he would nevertheless frequent the "kh'ammams,"† and scrupulously perform his ablutions; he was never *seen* to drink wine, and he rigidly abstained (in public) from every thing that is accounted unclean! If he was not looked up to as a pattern, by the followers of Mo-

* "Allah! Allah! il Allah!" there is only one God! "Mash'allah!" God is great!

† Kh'ammams," the baths.

hammed, he was, nevertheless, to all appearance, a naturalized Arab, and the mirror of a true Mussulmaun! He was, moreover, a Mamlûk, and though he had no beard, he was fair! The costume became him much; and when, wielding the staff of office, he has stood forth to reprimand, or repel, his brawny limbs and steady gaze have made many a "fellah" tremble in his skin: not that I am at all aware that he was prone to take advantage of the simple, or tyrannize over those who were in his power; but in spite of the disguise occasioned by the long, loose, flowing robes of the East, it required but little penetration to discern the steady, firm, and resolute look, and undaunted, determined demeanour, of the Scottish Highlander; the white "bernous" seemed in a moment, to fall from his shoulders, and we could fancy him as formerly, in kilt and philibeg, the black plumes waving from his tartan cap, wielding as in olden time, the good claymore in defence of his once dear native hills. But it was long since he had exchanged the trusty blade, so often drawn in freedom's cause, the far-famed, bright, pale, glittering "Andrea Ferrara," for the broad, dull, blue, and watered, exquisitely wrought Damascus steel, of classic excellence—inferior to none, if persons understand its merit, but useless and treacherous to those unpractised in the art, or if they be ignorant and unskilled in the peculiar manner of its application.* I have often asked Osman to tell me a little about himself; but I remarked that he always endeavoured to change the subject. I did not press it. Possibly the recital of his tale would have occasioned the recollection of many who were dear to him: of those who had long since passed into the tomb, and of some who,

* Vide Chap. VIII.

if they survived, were far beyond the "deep blue sea," and knew not even that he lived, or that they were destined ever to see him more! At one period, his trials had been considerable; but latterly, the star of his destiny had moved in another and a better sphere: and it is not impossible, that although a cloud had overshadowed certain portions of his life, the good might, on the whole, have been commensurate with the evil, if it did not even preponderate. If so, the sorrow occasioned by the retrospect would have been transitory. His trials once ended, the recollection of his strange, eventful history, would have been attended, I should think, with pleasure rather than pain. He evidently continued where he was, by choice; so I cannot suppose that he had many ties or connections in his own country, or that absence from his native land materially disturbed his thoughts. His spirits were always good; he enjoyed the best of health; his wants were well supplied, and he filled an honourable situation in the British consulate. By reason of his intimate acquaintance with the people, their country, and language, he was enabled to render himself useful to all European travellers, which became to him a source of considerable profit and delight: for it raised him to a society far above that which rank and education entitled him to expect any where else. Of all men that I ever met with, I do not remember one who appeared to take things more easily than Osman. He was a prince, compared with some who go to Sierra Leone, and other unhealthy spots. Hearty and strong, notwithstanding all that he had gone through; active, and able to enjoy the blessings which Providence had bestowed upon him; living under British protection, in the midst of a land of plenty, one that has been re-

nowned for her sages, and is still the wonder and attraction of the whole world,—looked up to by those whom it was in his power to relieve,*—being, moreover, frequently thrown into the society of intelligent persons, who were glad to avail themselves of his services,—and, though last not least, under the influence of a beautiful climate, such, that none have any thing to fear but the intemperate, what more could he require? His habits were entirely changed; and had he returned home after so long an absence, he would probably have found his relatives dead or dispersed. Osman left his country in order to accompany General Fraser in his unfortunate expedition in 1807. It is asserted that he came out as a private in a Highland regiment. However humble his extraction, he was by no means wanting in ability; though he did not seem to have enjoyed the advantage of more than a commonplace education: the greater merit was therefore due to him.

I have already mentioned, that in the affair of Rosetta, the British soldiers were shot down in the streets like so many rabbits, the enemy deliberately attacking them from the windows of the houses, unseen. The slaughter was very considerable, the English were entirely deceived as to the intention of the Beys, and the relative strength of their opponents. Of those that escaped death, many were carried away prisoners to Cairo: several, we are told, died on the road from fatigue and sickness, and others dropped down exhausted from ill-treatment or loss of blood. The number was considerably diminished by the time they reached their

* Having, it is said, obtained some smattering of medicine, the Arabs were wont to apply to him for assistance, and I dare say they did not always apply in vain.

place of destination; and on their arrival, it was still further reduced, a great many being exposed to the fury and fanaticism of the mob; and others being sacrificed in the most brutal and savage manner, to satiate the revenge of their unfeeling conquerors. We are credibly informed, that those who escaped the slaughter and survived the issue of such sufferings, were sold as slaves, and variously distributed about the country; and that they were doomed to pass their time in sorrow and captivity, subject to the mercy of their hard masters.

Osman Effendi was one of these: and, judging from his robust appearance, I should suppose that he had not only been blessed with an excellent constitution, but that he had come off with fewer wounds than his less fortunate comrades. It is recorded by the old-established merchants of Alexandria and Cairo, and also by the consuls and others, that that amiable and ever-to-be-lamented individual, Burckhardt, or as he was always called, "Scheikh Ibrahim," discovered our countryman in great distress, and filling the office of a common slave at Mekka, or D'gedda; that in the goodness of his heart, he found means to set him free; he clothed and fed him, and having fairly liberated him from an ignominious bondage, which in time was calculated to break the spirit of any man, and having suffered him to recruit his strength, brought him with him to Cairo, where he was presented to Mr. Salt, the English consul, who received him, at his own request, into his service. Mr. Salt died, and was universally regretted. Osman preferred remaining in the East, and he has been attached to the British consulate ever since. When I left Egypt he was holding the office of second drogueman: but his earthly pilgrimage

has since been terminated by the plague. Such are the principal facts which relate to Osman Effendi. He had been a soldier in his youth, and fought and bled with Englishmen, which alone should entitle him to a place in our memory. His services, while he lived, latterly that is, were almost indispensable to strangers in Cairo, and certainly deserve to be acknowledged. Due mention should be made of his name, if it be only for the sake of recording the philanthropy of Burckhardt, and the sufferings of those who, in obedience to their country's will, went forth with General Fraser, on the impolitic expedition of 1807.

It is much to be regretted, that Osman did not employ his leisure hours in writing an account of his campaigns, and the history of the important events and changes which he witnessed during his long residence in the East. He must have seen a great deal, and have been in possession of many facts which his country would value. He was practically acquainted with Oriental habits, and might have communicated to others the information which he did not himself feel disposed to write. His own existence had been more than ordinarily chequered: he had endured much; but latterly, when the hand of persecution was arrested, and he could sit down in peace, and enjoy that ease which every man desires after the meridian of his days is past, and when his sun is on the decline, he surely would have found it pleasing, one would think, to have brought the leading events of his history in review before him. It is curious to reflect how various are the courses which men adopt in their passage through the world — how various are the paths which lead to happiness if properly and steadily followed out; — some take the high road, others attempt to avail

themselves of short cuts, and fail in consequence; and there are those who prefer, for the sake of variety, the ins and outs, the irregularities and changes which those who go steadily forward in the straight path, avoid: some of these become involved in trouble, and having once lost the road, are unable again to find it. There are certain vicissitudes which men experience in common with each other; but there are many which belong to peculiar conditions. Osman made choice of the uncertainty and variety of a soldier's path, and like Othello the Moor, throughout his whole career, lacked not the opportunity to try his fortitude: — concerning the pilgrimage of human life, he might justly have said with the poet Ferdûsi,—

"Gahi pûsht ber zeen, gahi zeen ber pûsht!"

Sometimes the saddle bears the weight of the back, and sometimes the back the weight of the saddle.

According to appointment, we proceeded in the evening to the consulate house, where we found Messrs. Maltass and Robinson in conversation with Mr. Champion: the trio luxuriously reclining, with hookáh and t'chibouque! We were soon joined by Galloway Bey, who was attired in the dress of the "Nizám D'gideed," or military uniform, the costume due to his rank as one of the Pascha's principal employés. It consists of a light jacket, and waistcoat fitted comparatively close to the body, round which is bound in many folds, a handsome shawl of variegated Damascus silk; the pantaloons are wide, full, and loose, at the upper part, but are made to sit tight to the leg from below the knee, by means of hooks and eyes, along the calf to the ankle, which is covered with a white sock. The whole dress, with the exception of the shawl, is

commonly of fine white linen, and moderately embroidered with white silk trimming. The simple red "tabousch" or Greek cap suffices for the turban; the "papousches" or shoes, are red, and worn over a slipper of soft, yellow leather. A scimitar is girded round the waist, and a "bernous" or fine white Barbary mantle of camel's hair, silk, and wool, surmounted by a handsome flowing hood, is thrown over the shoulders. This dress is very becoming to a good figure, and especially if the wearer have a fine leg; but it is rather a troublesome one, on account of the hooks and eyes, and the numerous braid buttons, the complete manœuvring of which requires some little time and practice. It is customary for the wearer of this uniform to let the moustaches grow to a large size, but to shave off the whiskers up to the eyes; there is no absolute objection however to the beard, but the moustaches are a sine quâ non, that is, when they can be had!

In the course of the evening, the conversation turned upon dress. We were strongly advised to adopt the costume of the country,—not on account of any risk to which we should otherwise be exposed, (for the European garb is rather a protection than not, at least in Egypt,) but for the sake of personal comfort. Still, however, the idea seemed ridiculous, and we did not relish the thought of subjecting ourselves to the operation of the "tonsor." Each man instinctively placed his hand upon his head, and stroked his curly locks, unwilling to part with so graceful an appendage! "What!" we exclaimed together,—"have our heads shaved!—you might as well ask us to part with our heads, or to walk barefoot through the land, like lunatics or wandering friars!" "Nevertheless, gentlemen," was the reply, "you will take our advice, if you regard

EGYPTIAN MILITARY COSTUME.
The Nizam D'gedeed."

cleanliness and your own convenience! and bear in mind, that if you go afterwards to Syria, you will not have the same facility afforded you in travelling that you will meet with here. Unless you do as we say, you may then expect to meet with every variety of insult, and in some districts, your life will hardly be safe. Besides, in the interior you will find it very hot, particularly during the prevalence of the "Qh'ramseen" winds; and you will be glad at times to dispense even with shoes and stockings!" And so indeed we were! In Nubia, and occasionally when crossing the Desert, we actually did throw off both! So much are men children of necessity and habit! And, if any stranger had been present to hear the conversation which passed on this occasion, and had afterwards seen us, when we had resided in the country a few short months,—he would scarcely have believed the evidence of his senses; so strangely were we metamorphosed! The result of all this therefore may easily be guessed. Our unfortunate locks, which we had so dearly cherished, and which had partly borne with us the "heat and burden of the day," ever since our departure from Europe, were all but condemned.

The conversation now turned upon the country generally; a subject on which we were deeply interested. The questions discussed were intended for our edification, and every one gave us the benefit of his experience in the most friendly manner. With such excellent advisers, therefore, we were not long determining upon a plan. These gentlemen rendered us such weighty reasons for proceeding to the interior immediately, that we at once resolved to do so: indeed, they were so important that they should never be lost sight of by those who mean to ascend the Nile, as travellers are all liable to be

deceived in regard to the navigation; and they would do well to remember that it requires about double the time to *descend* that it does to *ascend:* notwithstanding the current is in favor of the former.

With us there were three very serious considerations. Having already entered upon the month of March, the river might be expected soon to get very low, a circumstance which would materially impede our progress, if we delayed, in consequence of the variable situation of the shallows and sand islands. During low Nile, the Cataracts are always more formidable;—and lastly, it was desirable that we should mount, if possible, as high as Sioût the capital of Upper Egypt, Manfaloût, Girgeh, or at all events, some other large town, if not to Ghéneh itself, (which is only half a day's journey from Thebes,) before the Qh'ramseen winds (that is to say, the south-east or hot winds of the Desert) fairly set in. These winds last fifty days, as the term implies, and would blow directly in our teeth: moreover, the period of their duration is said to constitute the sickly season; for they regularly bring with them various kinds of endemic, and not unfrequently, epidemic diseases; the obvious consequences of all which would be, risk—ennui—delay:—to attempt to carry sail, would be useless; to row, folly; both the wind and the tide being against us,—the former blowing at intervals a perfect hurricane, elevating dense clouds of sand,—and the latter running at the rate of from three to five miles an hour. Under such circumstances, we should have no alternative, but to moor for days together to the banks, among mud and bulrushes, where there is nothing to amuse, and little to instruct: or at some inconsiderable village, where the monotony of the scene is varied only by objects of filth, wretchedness,

and disease. Any situation during the prevalence of these winds is bad;—they are such that no person who has not experienced their effects, can form an idea of them: and as their grasp is not to be eluded, it is surely of some importance to know that its influence may be diminished, provided there is a possibility of having our wants supplied, and of obtaining a few comforts,—such as fresh milk and fruit, especially water-melons, (the most inestimable of luxuries at this time,) and other cooling vegetables, which are so much needed to assuage thirst, and allay the parching fever which all without exception must experience, though not perhaps in the same degree. Enjoyment, at such a season, is out of the question: health is the only consideration; and the traveller feels very little disposed to go any where in quest of knowledge; much less to venture within the confines of the Desert to visit or explore the remains of antiquity. Still, however, it is some consolation to reflect, that in a large town, there is always a diversity of objects to be found to amuse the eye, and to divert the attention, although oppressed by a feverish and noxious atmosphere. All this is doubly felt by the newly imported European, who has not had time to get accustomed to the climate, or become sufficiently familiarized with dirt and squalid looks, to divest himself of gloomy thoughts,—the result of an over-excited imagination: and as long as this execrable weather continues, he is haunted day and night, by those sad scourges of the human race — plague, cholera, ophthalmia, and famine, the gaunt and meagre symbols of which he continually beholds at his elbow, and in the visages of all around him.

We were very happy therefore to have met with gentlemen who contemplated a journey to the interior,

and had the same objects in view with ourselves. It was thought that, by joining company, we might contribute in various ways to each other's comfort; accordingly we agreed that due measures should be taken for our departure; and as a preliminary, that at our next meeting, we should all appear "en costume!" We proposed to remain at Cairo a fortnight, with a view of obtaining the necessary information relative to the country through which we had to pass, and that we should then proceed to Thebes, and the Cataracts, without delay. We desired our droguemans to make enquiry at Boulac of the proper authorities about the Cand'gias, and to report to us as soon as they had obtained any suitable intelligence. We also enlisted Osman in the cause, and begged that he would render us his powerful aid during our stay in the great city, as it was far from our intention to be idle: in proof of which, that we had resolved to commence operations the next morning, by having our heads shaved! "Mash'allah!"

We now took our leave, promising soon to repeat our visit. Mohammed and Selim were in attendance to conduct us home.* The day had been extremely hot; and after sitting so long in "smoky conclave," we found the air of the corridor very refreshing. Lighting our lanterns, we traversed the court; and passing under the portico of the adjacent building, entered upon the dark and silent avenues of the city. Notwithstanding the serenity of the atmosphere, the dew was falling fast, and the night was chill. There was no moon; the stars and planetary bodies shone forth with their accustomed brilliancy; but our path was obscured by the close and lofty walls of

* Selim was the servant of our future companions.

the houses, from which there was scarcely the glimmer of a single light:—for although it is true that the Egyptians adhere most religiously to the ancient custom of burning lamps all night long in every inhabited apartment, those who are passing in the streets, do not benefit by them, as the windows open generally into courts within, and are furnished with shutters and a lattice.* Ahaziah met his death by falling through one of these: and the mother of Sisera is described as addressing her ladies from the lattice. The houses now, as formerly, are seldom more than two or three stories high: the kitchens are on the ground-floor; the upper rooms are invariably the largest and best; they open upon the roof; and here the people often transact business, eat, sleep, and perform their devotions. Very many allusions are made to it in the Bible. It was from such a roof or terrace that David first beheld Bathsheba; and whenever any thing is to be proclaimed, seen, or heard, the inmates commonly assemble on the "house-tops." Sometimes a light shed or cupola is erected there to keep off the sun, or as a place for retirement and contemplation. "It is better,' says Solomon, "to dwell in a corner of the house-top, than with a brawling woman in a wide house." Prov. xxi. 9.†

* This custom explains many passages of scripture. See Job xxi. 17.—xviii. 5.—Prov. xiii. 9.—1 Kings xi. 36.—Jer. xxv. 10, 11.

† See also, 2 Kings i. 2.—Judges v. 28.—Isaiah xxii. 1.—Deut. xxii. 8.—1 Sam. ix. 25.—Acts x. 9.—Matt. x. 27.—xxiv. 17.—Mark xiv. 14, 15, &c.

ASHMOLEAN OXFORD MUSEUM

CHAPTER XI.

VARIETIES OF ORIENTAL COSTUME—THE BEARD—BARBERS AND COFFEE-HOUSES—ARAB SURGERY—HINTS TO TRAVELLERS—THE PHILOSOPHY OF CLOTHING—SCRUPLES OF THE ANCIENTS CONCERNING DRESS—COTTON—WOOL—FLAX—MANUFACTORIES—REMARKS ON CLIMATE—SCRIPTURE CORROBORATED—SCRIBES OF THE EAST—PREPARATIONS FOR THE INTERIOR—HIRING CAND'GIAS, ETC.

The following morning found us busily discussing the subject of our evening debate: for there were still two or three knotty points to be considered, before we could put our resolutions in force. The chief of these had reference to the barber. Before this highly important personage could be summoned, it was necessary to determine what kind of dress we intended to adopt.

All persons shave the head; but all do not wear a beard. Those who choose the "Nizam," or modern military uniform, neither require a turban nor a beard: but moustaches are indispensable; and the sides of the face and chin are closely shorn. Those who assume the long dress of the civilian or merchant, most frequently—I might almost say invariably, let the beard grow; and these always wear a turban. The chief peculiarity of the Mamlûk garb, is in the trousers, which are enormously broad and full: and although

very useful on horse-back, are a little inconvenient at first, when walking. The turban and the beard are essential parts of the costume: though I have seen instances in which both were omitted.

If a person intends to reside a very short time in the East, it is of little moment what plan he adopts: but he who purposes to himself a long residence, would do well to consider the relative advantages of each. To me this was of considerable importance, as I expected to travel in the more remote districts, where there is a great deal of fanaticism and superstition: and as I should have to act the "H'akkim," it was desirable to inspire confidence, and command the esteem of the multitude. I determined, therefore, that my dress should correspond with the character of the wearer; and as a beard is sure to gain for the stranger a degree of respect which he could not experience without it, and as it would save me a great deal of trouble, I at once decided to let mine grow. In the East, those who have no beard are often slighted. Thus, on a recent occasion, the Officers of the national guard having given themselves "airs," Mohammed Ali, ordered them to have "their beards shaved off," as a mark of his displeasure. The greatest indignity that can happen to a Persian, is to have his "zulfs" or curls clipped, and when a man has done any thing unworthy of himself, he is said to have "a cow's beard," —as he is supposed to have disgraced his own; and the hair which grows about the chin of a cow is always ragged, poor, and scanty. Every one knows with what veneration the Turks and Jews regard the beard; and we read that Nehemiah on his return to Jerusalem, after the Captivity, was so indignant at the misconduct of the people, that he "smote certain of them, and

plucked off their hair."* Many of the Arabs have no beards, therefore they honour those who have; and when a man once suffers his beard to grow, they think it a disgrace to him to cut it off. But if in Egypt it insures him respect, in Syria and the Desert it may protect his life. There is no doubt that a beard adds greatly to the dignity of the person: and I cannot believe that it was designed by nature that it should be cut off. We are all creatures of habit; and those who are accustomed to see the beard, admire it. The same remark applies to the subject of dress. None who are in the habit of admiring the flowing robes of the Greeks and Romans, will, for a moment, defend the formal, studied, and prim fashions of Europe, which have neither elegance nor ease to recommend them, and assuredly nothing of the picturesque.

What with our tight clothes, and beardless chins, it is no wonder that we should be considered by the Orientals "effeminate, and indecent," resembling "plucked pigeons," "singed apes," and "mangy curs," and be described by them as coming from a country in which "cloth is dear!"—Mons. Dussapp, a truly amiable and philanthropic character, who resided many years at Cairo in a medical capacity, was quite revered by the inhabitants, no less for his virtues than on account of his beard, which, like that of Sueno, the first Danish chief who invaded England, was forked. It divided into two parts, and extended to his knees: and such was its beauty and venerable aspect, that he was distinguished among the Arabs by the title of "Abou Degg'n," or "Pere de Barbe."

Poor Burckhardt, who was better known in Egypt as "Scheikh Ibrahim," found his beard a great pro-

* Neh. xiii. 25. See also 2 Sam. x. 5.—xiv. 25, 26.—Judges xvi. 17.—and Gen. xli. 14.

tection to him, and those who have read his Travels, will remember, that on one occasion, a certain chief doubting that he was a Mussulmaun, insulted him by pulling his beard, which was instantly resented by a blow—no further doubts were then entertained. To stroke the beard, or gently touch the end of it, is regarded as a compliment; and it is a common practice among the Arabs, thus to lay hold of it, admire, and smooth down the beard, when endeavouring to coax and flatter, or make a bargain. It throws a man off his guard, and opens his heart. An Arab would almost as soon be deprived of a limb, as be shorn of his beard: for independently of the disgrace which the sons of Islam attach to such an operation, he feels that he is severed from an object to which he is bound by the strongest ties of affection. It is his constant friend and companion, let his circumstances alter as they may. He confers with it in difficulties and doubt; he imparts to it all his secrets, it affords him diversion in solitude, and in the hour of adversity and trial, it becomes his solace and resource. When thoughtful, he grasps it; when pleased, he strokes it; when vexed and excited, he pulls it. It is held sacred by every class, and it is referred to as a token of fidelity and honour. To swear by the beard, the beard of one's father, and the beard of the Prophet, is at all times sufficiently binding: and he who possesses a fine beard is invariably a person of commanding exterior, and an object of respect;—for he cannot be very young, and he is therefore supposed to have some wisdom, and a certain degree of experience in human affairs.

In most parts of the East, those men who are by nature beardless, are considered insignificant; and in Persia, where this graceful appendage is so highly

esteemed, they become objects of ridicule, and are quaintly denominated "Birish," "No beards."—It may well be supposed, then, that any slight offered to the beard in such countries, is an unpardonable offence; and various epithets are applied by individuals, in token of their contempt or regard, according as the case may be. Thus, to "laugh at his beard," and to "make play with another man's beard," signify to mock or cajole, and are a direct insult to manhood.*

All these weighty considerations having caused me to decide in favour of the beard, I was now prepared to make choice of a suitable costume; and before I submitted to the operation of the tonsor, it became necessary that I should be provided with at least that part of the dress which was destined to protect my denuded pate from the sun's rays. Bradford's sentiments being in accordance with mine, we desired Mohammed to lead the way to the clothes bazaar, the Monmouth Street of Cairo, where our eyes were dazzled with such finery, that to make a selection to one's taste was by no means easy. At last, each of us

* The Persians not unfrequently reproach one another by such expressions as the following:—"Your beard is long enough, you are not a child." "What is the use of a beard when an empty sconce is tied to the end of it?"† And when they wish to scoff at their enemies, they seem to vie with one another in the choice of the most opprobrious and pointed terms. The following elegant specimen may suffice for the rest.—"Their very look is unclean, and their beards are not fit to be brooms to a polluted sink." "By the blessing of the prophet, a hundred dogs one after another, will make a corner stone of his beard, and every day bring their friends to follow their example."† Whensoever they are offended, their desire seems to be, to vent their spleen upon the "beard," as affording them the most exquisite gratification of their malice! In like manner, they amuse themselves at the expense of the unhappy Franks, who, exhibiting not the slightest evidence of this idol of a Persian's fancy, are supposed to have been duly prepared for certain offices in their master's Harem. They hold them, therefore, in utter contempt; and it is not until through some lucky chance, the same individuals have permitted their chins to sprout, that they can bring themselves to believe that such egregious infidels did really possess the rudiments of a future beard concealed within the soil of their "dogs' skin!"

† Fraser, Morier, &c.

picked out a double suit, viz: one of cloth in the Mamlûk fashion, and one of white linen, being the uniform of the "Nizam D'gideed"—either of which was to be enveloped at pleasure, in the folds of the white "bernous" of wool and camel's-hair, or silk. I found the Mamlûk costume so preferable in every respect, that I soon laid aside the latter: besides, the comfort of the turban to those who travel in a tropical climate is so great, that I would not have been without one on any account. On our return we dismissed Mohammed for one of the most experienced barbers—I suppose he introduced a friend of his own:—no matter, he accomplished his task like a genuine professor of his art, so we did not cross-examine him respecting the course and term of his studies; taking for granted that he was duly qualified, and possessed his diploma. But, fancy preparing, for the first time in one's life, to place one's scalp at the entire mercy of one of these knights of the razor!—a Had'gj too—one who was bound by the laws of his religion to hate you!—fancy the fatal instrument flourishing over your head in the hands of such a creature,—the said instrument reaping faster than any patent sickle in Christendom! But, like it or not like it, it must be endured by all who propose to travel in the East with comfort to themselves, and especially if they wear the turban; for they could not endure their hair beneath it.

The scene which now took place was ludicrous enough, and might well be compared to a preparation for private theatricals, or admission to a lunatic asylum; and we could hardly believe that, once equipped, we were to sally forth to the busy world again. But I must not forget our friend the Had'gj! He had made the Holy Pilgrimage, and assumed to himself the

privilege of wearing the green turban. He was somewhat below the middle stature. Nature had not been very prodigal of her gifts. He had an unsightly hump upon his back, and the small-pox had made sad havoc among features which were irregular and coarse, and deeply furrowed by the hand of time and adversity. His general aspect was accordingly any thing but prepossessing. He was unusually grave for a barber; but he had not left his tongue on the tomb of the Prophet; and could we have conversed freely with him without the aid of an interpreter, we should have doubtless drawn him out a little more than we did. He was decorated with the various insignia of his office, and from his girdle was suspended a long, leather strap, which was used to set his razor, before and after work. He did not spare either soap or labour;—for there is an old saying, that "a good lather is half the shave,"—and certainly he did the adage ample justice: for my poor head was never so well soaped before, I believe: not even when under the merciless jurisdiction of a veteran nurse, or the chief matron of scholastic discipline.

The operation of shaving is commonly performed at the bath; but this being our first admission to Arab practices, we thought it best to conceal our awkwardness, by taking our first lesson in private. It is indeed no trifling thing—and I was very glad to be emancipated from such thraldom; but I must confess I felt very light and comfortable when the ceremony was over. It is truly astonishing with what rapidity and precision the Oriental barbers operate! It is a very rare thing that they make the slightest scratch; and yet they seem to shave so close, as almost to carry away the skin as well. Some of the rich sensualists,

the inequalities of whose visage would set a conjuror at defiance, must give them, I think, a great deal of trouble: and then again, there is a remarkable difference in the respective qualities of the hair. Some persons have very strong, harsh hair, whilst that of others is soft and weak. The quality of the hair may be said to depend on constitutional causes, which have undoubtedly more to do with it than climate and modes of life. The effect produced by a change of climate &c., is not always lasting, and it is seldom very considerable, provided the constitution remain unimpaired. A long residence in a hot and dry country, will, it is true, render the hair harsh, frizly, dark, and even thin; whilst in low, damp, and cold countries, it becomes lighter, soft, and disposed to curl. The same may also be said of the habits of life, and the condition of the mind. We are told that the more civilized the people, the finer is the quality of the hair; but this is very far from being a general fact. The most beautiful specimens of hair are frequently to be found among the lower ranks of society, but not among the dissipated: and we may rest assured, that whatever be the station of society, and whatever the pains taken by combing, and brushing, to improve the quality of the hair, little benefit will be derived, unless the general health be good, and the mind at ease. The attention must be directed to constitutional causes, and not to accidental circumstances. No person who is in the habit of frequenting hot rooms, or keeping late hours, whether for the purpose of study, or any other species of dissipation, can expect to have a fine head of hair.—A wholesome and nutritious diet, early rising, exercise in the open air, temperance, and a mind at ease, are the only things which conduce to happiness and health; and unless the functions of the

body are duly performed, it would be folly to expect the skin to be soft, or the hair sleek. To see one of these Oriental Figaros in full operation, is entertaining enough. Their dwellings are generally situated near a bath, and a coffee shop; and like these, are, as in the countries of Europe, regular places of rendezvous for gossips and news-mongers. No wonder then that such gentry are loquacious, shrewd, and flippant: for they seem to make it their business to know something of every body and every thing. They visit, or are visited by, persons of all conditions; so they find it their interest to have a kind word for each, humour their caprices, be offended at nothing, always cheerful and buoyant, obsequious, and jocose. The shop of a barber is generally furnished with guests. When a people have but few resources within themselves, they like to pass their leisure hours in chatting with their neighbours; and a few years ago, when coffee shops were not sanctioned by the government as they are now, the loiterers, of which there are so many in every Oriental city, were wont to repair to the residence of their barber, who generally contrived to have a charcoal fire, and felt himself at liberty to regale his customers with a "Find'gian" or so of their favourite beverage, if it liked him so to do. This was so universally the case, that at last, the government saw the propriety of licensing regular coffee houses. Let the reader picture to himself then, a motley group of individuals who have "just dropped in" to learn the news of the day; some squatting on the ground, and others standing about pipe in hand, the apartment filled with smoke; and in the midst, the barber in full cry, responding to half-a-dozen queries at one breath, leaning with "elbows bare" over the body of his victim,

whose head is nearly all the while smothered in foam, and seems to repose upon a large pewter dish, which being hollowed out at the edge, to fit the neck, is supported by the patient's own hands: it is truly a grotesque object, and appears to float as it were, in a mediterranean sea of froth and suds, with very much the aspect of a large syllabub, or a bundle of whipped cream; the more solid parts rising at intervals, like the tipsy cake in a trifle. He is condemned to be a listener, by reason of the eternal contiguity of the barber's brush, or the still more deadly weapon which his hand displays. As soon as the sprouting hair is removed, he is almost drenched with hot water, and his head and face are so completely kneaded, rubbed, and polished, that he is nearly choked for want of breath. The more rigid Mussulmauns, especially the followers of Ali, allow a tuft of long hair to grow from the upper and back part of the head, in conformity, as it is said, with a superstitious notion, that "because the Prophet went to heaven on a camel, so, at the last day, the true believer will be drawn up to Paradise, by a lock of his hair!" The Greeks suffer their locks to hang down the neck, and do not often clip them. A Frank who adopted European fashions, would find it a difficult matter to get a native barber to cut his hair: the man would not know which way to begin. I was once in such a dilemma even in Hungary. Many of the "Magyars" adopt the same custom as the Greeks:—they allow the hair to flow over their shoulders in great profusion; and when I applied to a man who I was informed, was the only person in the town who was in the habit of "cutting hair,"—he pulled out an immense pair of sheep-shears, and with these he was very orderly commencing his work. When I heard the sound of

the huge, unwieldly blades, I started with surprise,—which he observing, only smiled, and assured me that "I had indeed nothing to fear!*"

I offered to lend him a pair of English scissars; but he declined, assuring me, that he never employed any other than those he held in his hand. So I thought it was best to let him work with his own tools: and I will do him the justice to say, that he accomplished his task very well. But it seemed at every stroke of the shears, as if one of my depending auricles would at

* I must confess, at the moment, it brought to my mind an adventure which happened some years ago, to a gentleman in London, not far from the Royal Exchange. He went one morning to be shaved, as was customary in those days. He was speedily dismembered of his coat, and cravat, and his head and neck were laid bare in the orthodox style. The whole paraphernalia of cloths, napkin and basin being duly adjusted, the barber advanced to his customer, who had unsuspectingly taken up the newspaper.—"Now, Sir! Permettez—as the French say,—à propos! you have been in France, Sir; (and commenced lathering)—queer people those Frenchmen, Sir—capital cooks, very musical, good surgeons—shave well—sharp fellow that Buonaparte"—and so he was running on, and lathering the phiz of his patient, who, unable to open his mouth to put in a single word, could only look what his feelings prompted him to utter. He thought the man's manner very odd, and there was a peculiar wildness in his demeanour which he could not account for; yet so industrious did he ply the brush, that for him to speak was impossible! The barber still indulged his volubility. "Capital stuff that almond soap—beautiful lather—no Frenchman ever made such a lather, or I'll be hanged—By the bye, talking of hanging, Sir—What do you think of hanging, Sir?—(stropping his razor with great vehemence,)—beautiful neck yours, Sir—just do for the guillotine—(here the patient's wig fell off)—Bless me, you wear a wig!—How long have you worn a wig?—Now, Sir—Sit still, Sir—(flourishing his razor high in the air,)—wear a wig indeed—very odd, ha! ha!—beautiful neck—ha! ha! sit still, Sir—don't stir—I'll soon do your business for you"—and so saying, was about to commence operations in a right gallant style, when the barber's wife entered from the back parlour, and perceiving the gentleman's evident uneasiness, whispered to him very innocently, though with some trepidation,—"Don't be alarmed, Sir,—you need not be alarmed, Sir;—he will not hurt you,—he had a blow on his head once, Sir, and every now and then he do carry on mortal strange, but he is quite *harmless!*"—Our poor friend instantly threw down the paper—jumped up—opened the door, and made two leaps across the road to his office, without waiting to adjust his dress: and forgetting in his fright, that he was without his wig, that he was muffled up to the throat like an Egyptian mummy, and that he had a head as white as any snow ball.

Had I then observed any strangeness of tone or manner in my barber-surgeon, the Hungarian, I too, might have been tempted to beat a retreat.

least be slit; and if I escaped with my head, I should certainly go home without my ears.

Barbers in the East, as in Europe in the olden time, generally understand the arts of cupping, bleeding, and tooth-drawing; some of them pretend to set bones, and they are not unfrequently applied to for "nostrums;" they are also expected to dress wounds and extract balls. Their manner of cupping is very simple; rude, but efficacious. They first apply a buffalo's horn to the skin by its broad end; the narrow end remaining open, the air is sucked out by the mouth. Atmospheric pressure causes the skin to rise; the lips being withdrawn, the horn is removed, and the parts beneath are scarified by means of a razor: the horn is instantly applied again, and a second vacuum being created by aid of the lips, the blood flows. Cupping, and counter-irritation, especially by the "moxa" or the actual cautery, are had recourse to by these people, on almost every occasion, and they often do a great deal of good. In Persia and China, blood-letting is highly objected to, especially among the great, chiefly on superstitious grounds: and the same prejudice is believed to have facilitated, if it did not cause, the death of the late Princess Mirhmah, a daughter of the Sultan Mahmoud; she was the wife of Sayeed Pascha, who held the office of Seraskier, and so great a favorite, that when she died, a royal firmaun was issued, interdicting all singing and music, and every other demonstration of joy, for several days to come. It seems that the princess was delivered of a still-born infant, and symptoms of inflammation arising after a lapse of three days, the physician advised that she should be bled. The proposal being however so novel, and so much at variance with established usage, (for it is thought

presumptious to spill the blood of a princess,) the wishes of the H'akkim were resisted to the last, and the royal patient sank into the grave, another victim to the hydra of superstition.

In Turkey you may generally recognize a barber's shop by the appearance of a long handkerchief floating in front of it: but in China, this class of persons are not regarded with an equal degree of favor; for they may be said to follow a wandering profession, in as much as they go from street to street, armed with basin, stool, and pot, and loiter about the bazaars till they are hired. They are known by their bell, and perform their office in the open air.*

In selecting wearing apparel, something more is necessary than to please the eye, and gratify the fancy. Nor is it sufficient to consider the fashion which may be most acceptable to ourselves and the people of the country. We must take into account the material, and its colour, as also the season of the year, and the hour of the day. I have already mentioned that in Egypt and all tropical climates, it is of the utmost importance to guard against the heat of the sun by day, and the heavy dews of the night. The dress must be regulated accordingly. Different temperaments have different powers of resisting the extremes of heat and cold, and although perhaps no people can bear these extremes so well as the English, it is imperative on all men to keep a strict watch over themselves, and not to disregard the dictates of common sense. The finest constitutions have sunk under the pernicious effects of rashness as

* How different is the condition of barbers in the north and west! We never see the pole and basin now! Such emblems have long been discarded! and lately a deputy of the chamber of Darmstadt has claimed the execution of a remarkable privilege existing in the town of Hesse—viz. the levying a fine upon every individual who may be shaved by any one except *the* barber of the town!

well as of intemperance: and the inconvenience which is occasionally felt in low latitudes, is not to be attributed to want of "strength" or "stamina" as young men sometimes argue; and so presuming upon the vigour of youth, persuade themselves that nothing can hurt *them*. Alas! how many have fallen a sacrifice to their own imprudence! Much of our comfort unquestionably depends on the nature of our dress; but we are not always equally susceptible of atmospheric changes: our feelings are materially influenced by the general health; and the condition of the skin is regulated as much by the state of the stomach as of the atmosphere. We cannot therefore be too particular respecting *diet;* especially as, in all hot countries, there is a great disposition to obesity, a circumstance which should put us still more on our guard.*

According to the experiments of Count Rumford, the more flocculent the material, the greater is the degree of heat retained by the human body, because such substances are bad conductors of heat, and therefore do not readily convey the caloric to the atmosphere without. Thus then eider-down, feathers, wool, &c. afford much warmer clothing than cotton or silk. The colour too has a great deal to do with it. Experiment and facts go to prove that all light colours, and white

* Mr. Laird, in his Narrative of the last Expedition up the Niger, alludes to the same subject. "Every one," he says, "appeared to have a most unaccountable propensity to become fat. I did not eat one half that I had been accustomed to in England, and yet could not keep myself from increasing. Dr. Briggs was precisely in the same way: and as for Lander, he was as broad as he was long." I became acquainted with poor Briggs at the University of Cambridge. Having been so long in the East, I was enabled to give him a few useful hints: but unhappily for his family and his country, he was one of the first to suffer. He was a very amiable and enterprising young man, temperate in his habits, and well qualified for the undertaking in which he had embarked. His loss is much to be regretted, and had he been spared to accomplish the object of his wishes, I think that society would have had good reason to acknowledge his services.

more particularly, *reflect* heat most copiously, and absorb little: they will consequently be the coolest. On the other hand, black, and all the darker colours, absorb very freely, but reflect little. So that if we would proceed scientifically, (and we cannot do better,) we should select light colours for the summer, and those which are darker, for the winter. These facts admit of demonstration by a very simple experiment. It is only necessary to place pieces of different coloured cloth and linen on the surface of the snow, at noon-day; and especially when the atmosphere is clear, and the sun at its meridian. The black cloth will melt the snow beneath it, in less time than any of the others; the blue next, then green, then yellow:—the white not at all. White reflects so powerfully, that it will form the coolest dress, and particularly when the atmosphere is so brilliantly clear as it is in Egypt. The ancients, we are told, had many scruples on the subject of dress. Some animals being regarded as unclean, it was thought profane to convert any tissue of their body into wearing apparel; and in more modern times, "Had'gj Baba" *who immortalized himself by coming to England with the Persian embassy*, declared, that his master was highly incensed when on his way between the sea-port and the imperial city, "the great-grandfather of all the infidels attempted to rub his back with a brush made of the hairs of the unclean beast!!"* According to Apuleius, wool being taken from slaughtered animals, was not in repute among the Egyptians as an article of clothing, and by the priests it was deemed profane to employ it as such. Thus, we read that they were accustomed to clothe themselves in linen.† This notion very generally prevailed in the East; and in

* Morier. † Apuleius, p. 64. Div. Leg. vol. i. p. 318.

conformity therewith, Eli made Samuel a linen ephod.* Other instances might be quoted as illustrative of the same thing. They occur continually, both in the Old and New Testament. Divested of this superstition, the Egyptians of the present day, do not hesitate to employ animal wool as an article of clothing; though in the interior, they prefer cotton-wool and flax, when they can get them, these being more perfect conductors, and therefore better adapted to the climate. The Arabs of the Desert commonly clothe themselves also in manufactures of camel's hair; and the article most prized by them, is the "Haik" or cloak of that material: it is either black or white, with or without broad stripes; it consists of a square piece, with holes for the arms, and has *no seam*. The Druses of Lebanon, and the people of Mesopotamia not only wear a coat which is "without seam," but "of many colours," having variegated stripes proceeding to a point, downwards from the shoulders, like a reversed pyramid. This is believed to be of the same description as that bestowed by Jacob on his favorite child. We are informed that our Saviour also wore "a coat without seam, woven from the top throughout," and that in the wilderness, St. John "had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins." The "sackcloth" of the Scriptures was a similar manufacture, but of the roughest and coarsest kind, like that which is worn by dervishes and reputed saints. It is still used for sacks and tent-covers.† We can easily understand the necessity of a girdle: no persons with loose, flowing robes can engage in active occupations without first "girding up the loins,"—that is, taking up a portion of their dress, out of their way. Some lay aside their

* 1 Samuel ii. 18. † Gen. xxxvii. 3.—John xix. 23.—Matt. iii. 4.—Isaiah xx. 2.

outer garment for the time; others prepare to put forth their strength, by fastening a belt or girdle round the waist, and by laying bare the arms to the shoulder. Thus, Elijah "*girded up his loins*, and ran before Ahab to Jezreel;"—and the sacred writings abound in passages which, like this, illustrate the habits of those who wear the Oriental costume. Some of them are to be taken figuratively.*

To the fertility of the cotton-plant, Egypt is indebted for one of the most wonderful of her resources.† Enormous quantities of cotton are annually exported to Europe; and the progress of the arts and manufactures in our industrious northern regions has been such, that the produce of the seed of this beautiful plant, (the Gossypium,) has been converted into clothing that may be adapted to every clime. The world are greatly indebted to Sir Richard Arkwright for the discovery of his machine for abbreviating and simplifying the art of carding and spinning the cotton wool: and I have already mentioned, that Mohammed Ali has availed himself of the services of our countrymen, and adopted the use of machinery for this and similar purposes in Egypt.‡ He established several large manufactories at Cairo and other parts, and no traveller should omit to inspect them. Until lately, they were in a most thriving condition; but, as I shall soon have occasion to shew, the works were entirely abandoned for some time, and the labourers transformed into soldiers.

Flax (Lineum) which is now used extensively for wearing apparel, is not only cultivated for home

* 1 Kings xviii. 46. — Luke xii. 35-37. — John xxi. 18. — Isaiah v. 27. — Psalms xviii. 32—39.—xciii. 1.—1 Peter i. 13.—Isaiah xi. 5.—lii. 10.—Ephes. vi. 14.—Heb. ii. 10.

† See the work of Mr. G. Gliddon, late United States Consul at Cairo.

‡ The reader may remember that we took out ten of our best English workmen, together with a quantity of machinery in the "Bristol!"

consumption, but is also ranked among the principal export articles of the country. This subject is admirably described by Dr. Darwin, in his "Loves of the Plants."* He tells us that the flax was first found in Egypt; and nothing can be more beautiful than his illustration of the various processes of spinning and weaving. I regret, that I cannot introduce it here. The flax is a delicate, elegant little plant, bearing a lively, blue, bell-shaped flower. It may be seen on either side of the Nile, adorning in great profusion, the rich lawns of the Delta, and extending in graceful plots, even to the water's edge. We cannot wonder that so lovely a prospect should engage the poet's fancy, and that the attention of mankind should be so early directed to this modest little flower:—flourishing so abundantly around them, Nature prompted that it was designed for important uses. There is much truth, and great beauty manifested in this evident adaptation of the gifts of Providence to the wants of man.

"Inventress of the woof, fair Lina flings
The flying shuttle through the dancing strings:—
* * * * *
Taught by her labours, from the fertile soil
Immortal Isis clothed the banks of Nile;
And fair Arachne with her rival loom
Found undeserved a melancholy doom."†

Thus, according to the Egyptian mythology, not only was this tutelar deity pleased to render the flax and cotton plants so productive, but to have invented also the arts of spinning and weaving. For we read, that notwithstanding the scruples which subsequently arose, and the fastidiousness which the people evinced—until her time, mankind had either no clothing at all, or were clad in the skins of wild animals. The fable of

* Vol. ii. p. 80. † Darwin, vol. ii.

Arachne is supposed to have been created for the purpose of complimenting the goddess on the introduction of these rival arts, which were so beautiful as to surpass in fineness, the web of the spider!

The ancient Egyptians associated every thing with Nature and religion, and especially in regard to the productions of the Nile. Isis herself was a creation of the fancy, a type of universal Nature; and the priests did well to inspire the votaries of their religion with love and gratitude to the Divine Being whose genial influence they felt, and believed to be the source of every good—as often as an opportunity occurred.

It is a mistake to suppose that thin clothing can be worn with impunity at all hours of the day, or at all seasons of the year. It is often very cold indeed at night: after sunset, the thermometer will fall rapidly several degrees in a short time, and the dew descends so fast in consequence, that if we be not provided with a suitable mantle, and a good thick turban, we may depend upon it, we shall pay the penalty of our imprudence. It is true that the Arab soldiers now wear no turban, and their head is defended only by the tabousch; but that is no argument; it is perhaps right that they should be inured to all sorts of risks; but even they will wrap their head at night, in the hood attached to their bernous; and there is no one of the natives, whatever be his rank, who will not protect the head, as much as possible, during the extremes of heat and cold. Those who do not, or cannot, are sure to suffer from ophthalmia; and there is not a more frequent cause of fever in the East than this. People are sometimes tempted to sleep on the terraces of the houses; and in such a climate, I do not wonder at it; but when they do so, they cannot be too particular about covering the

head, eyes, and chest. I may say with great truth, that during the time that I was in the East, I have slept nearly as often in the open air as in a house; and when I was in Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor, having been robbed of my tent with other property, I frequently passed the night on the sea-shore, among mountains, or in desert places, beneath the wide canopy of heaven: yet by taking these precautions, I avoided many evils which others, under similar circumstances, have endured. Nevertheless, I did not entirely escape the effects of climate, and excesses like these, which I was bound to commit. During this period of my travels, I had no companion but a servant and a surogee.* Months passed away, and I did not know what it was to stretch my limbs upon a bed, although (in Asia Minor at least) the rainy season had set in, and I was suffering from the consequences of a severe attack of remittent fever, and compelled to undergo every privation and fatigue; the whole country being mountainous and rocky, entirely destitute of inns, or roads, and infested with thieves:—and to complete the sum of our miseries, the rivers were hardly fordable, and we could seldom get any thing to eat but bad bread, a few olives, and some coffee, at the wretched places through which we had occasion to pass.

I mention these things now, that the traveller may know what to expect in these districts. In Egypt a man wants for nothing; and he is surrounded by people who are well disposed, industrious, and kind; he may pass from one end of the land to the other without molestation, and be as well protected, and as well provided for, as he need wish to be, or could be, in Europe. The Arabs are a merry, good-natured

* An armed guard.

people: and if the traveller will laugh and joke with them, and treat them well, whether it be in the valley of the Nile, or in the heart of the Desert, he may pass his time in perfect tranquillity; and learn to be contented with the more intellectual state of society in his own country: i. e. could he but strip it of some of its formalities and fashionable absurdities! He will at least see how little we require to make us happy, and what native simplicity really is: —and in this if I mistake not, he will envy many a poor honest Bedoueen, who, rough and uncivilized as he may appear, possesses nevertheless, all the noble virtues of a man. Lastly, he will pity the hard fate of the unfortunate Fellah, who, in the midst of plenty, desires only a good government, that he may be enabled to enjoy the fruits of his labours, and the blessings which Providence has so bountifully showered around him; but which the ungenerous hand of despotism dares to withhold. Certainly he will not find fault with the climate, for it is every thing he can reasonably desire; but of course, it has its peculiarities, like every other: and these it is necessary to study. There is nothing objectionable in it, which it is not in the power of every one to guard against; and the means of so doing are divisible, as I have said, chiefly into two heads, viz: dietetics and clothing.

Whichever dress the traveller selects, let him be provided with a thick muslin or shawl for his head, another for his loins, and a sensible Arab blanket or mantle, for night-work—one that has a hood. The white bernous of Tunis is a most useful substitute for it by day: and if properly managed, may be made to keep one either warm or cool, as circumstances require. It is very light, and the traveller should never stir abroad without it. The coldness of the

nights in hot countries is alluded to in many parts of the Scriptures. It may suffice to mention one. Jacob said to Laban,—"In the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night: and my sleep departed from mine eyes."* Furs are sometimes worn in Egypt, and Persia, as well as in Syria and Turkey:—and nothing is more common than a double jacket, and thick cloth mantles. A letter from an officer in the British squadron, dated Beyrout, November 12th, 1840, states "The weather here is very moderate, compared to last year. We have only just taken to wear blue clothes!"

Cotton dresses suit very well in an ordinary way, in hot countries; but wool and silk are better adapted to colder climates. In like manner, a bed of eider-down might be very delightful in the north of Russia; but a mattrass of horse-hair or cotton, with a simple blanket or coverlid, would be much more acceptable in Egypt.

Time was now getting on, and the period of our first sojourn was fast drawing to a close. We were anxious not to exceed it, as every week, we were told, would make a perceptible difference in the height of the Nile. We had already seen enough of Messrs. Robinson and Maltass to believe that their company would be a valuable addition to our society, during our intended trip to the Cataracts. It was arranged that we should start together in a week: these gentlemen occupying one Cand'gia, ourselves another, and we each set about the necessary preparations without loss of time. There was no difficulty in obtaining a Cand'gia; but to meet with a sound and good one, was not so easy. As soon as it was known that such a thing was wanted, there

* Genesis xxxi. 40. See also Jer. xxxvi. 20.—Psalms lxxviii. 47.—cxlvii. 16, and Job xxxviii. 29.

were plenty of offers; and the prices were as various almost as their qualities. At last we succeeded to our wishes. The one we selected was not so large as that of our friends, but in many respects better; in fact, theirs was too large to pass the Cataracts, and they quitted it on the frontier, and joined us. We met with a stout, useful bark, in good condition, and very fair under canvass. It was the same in which Monsieur Linant, some time before, penetrated into Nubia. It was provided with an excellent double cabin, and carried two large, latteen sails, besides a fore-sail. It belonged to a merchant, and with him a bargain was struck for forty dollars per month, (about eight guineas.) There were to be no extra charges whatever, either on account of the Cand'gia or crew, which latter consisted of the Reis or captain, and eight active young fellows. (Nubians). We were under no stipulation to bring the Cand'gia back to Cairo; we were at liberty to discharge it when and where we pleased, without notice; paying, however, in any case, to the *end* of the month. The Reis was to have the sole management of his men, and was to provide for them without troubling us. He was to conform to our wishes in every respect, and to be responsible to the owner, for any damage which the Cand'gia might sustain. It was arranged also, that we should pay the Reis always a month in advance, that he might not be without means.

Of course we were very particular in having the terms of agreement drawn up in a legal way, by a scribe: and we particularly specified, that both the Cand'gias should be well provided with sails and cordage, and be in all respects fit for service by the day proposed: having been previously *sunk*, and kept under water three entire days, in order to destroy the rats, snakes,

scorpions, and sundry other smaller tribes, that experience taught us, might otherwise disturb our peace. This precaution should never be omitted, for no Cand'gia is free from vermin. Nevertheless, before we furnished them, we took care to have them well scoured and fumigated. This done, the cabins were fitted up with strong basket-work divans, loosely covered with matting, and on these we arranged our cotton mattrasses and cushions: the floor was carpeted. The Cand'gia of our companions was similarly rigged and furnished, with our own; but the crew were Arabs. Each party had two servants, for whom there was also good accommodation, apart from their masters. We introduced a few English comforts, made some addition to our cooking utensils, and provided two large provision-boxes.

Osman Effendi, who had transacted the whole affair, sent for a scribe to draw up the stipulated articles, in due form: and these of course were signed by the parties concerned, and by all present. In a despotic country like Egypt, it would be folly to talk about "law"—there is no law, except the will of the man in power. The scribes therefore of the present day, are not like the scribes of old,—lawyers, learned men who ranked with princes, and who from being familiar with the decrees of Moses, were consulted in cases of difficulty, as well as in matters of religion; but who were at last denounced as haughty, self-righteous hypocrites, because instead of practising and teaching "the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and truth," they adhered to useless forms and ceremonies, and "made the Word of God of none effect through their traditions."* Modern scribes are more properly

* Jer. xxxvi. 12.—2 Sam. viii. 17.—Matt. v. 20.

secretaries or writers, and are very useful in their vocation. They are engaged by the authorities to take an account of things to be done,—money to be received, taxes collected,—orders transmitted:—they may be said to issue the proclamations of the great, and their services are required (where so few persons can read or write,) in various mercantile affairs, agreements, stipulations, and bargains, with a view to prevent disputes. They always carry with them the "ink-horn," and pen, or reed, which I have already described. This custom is of very ancient date.* The individual we employed was a venerable-looking man, about sixty years of age, of middle size, with a pallid complexion, and a grey beard; his head was enveloped in a scanty, green turban, in testimony of, it is supposed, his honorable descent: for he had never been at Mekka. He wore the Caftan, i. e. a long, cloth robe with wide half-sleeves; it is open in front, and reaches to the ankles: the outer garment was green; the inner one was of striped cotton, of various colours, similar in form, but having open, hanging sleeves, which with those of the shirt, were displayed beneath the former: this covered the chest, and was bound at the waist, by a shawl. These, together with the red "papouscheş," yellow slippers, and loose trousers, made up the full costume,—that which is usually worn by merchants in the bazaars, scribes, and in fact, by all civilians; the chief differ-

* Jer. viii. 8.—Ezek. ix. 2. 11.—I am sorry to say, I sometimes saw the Bible-backs of the Bible Society of London, exposed for sale in the Bazaars; the text torn out, but the cover still bearing the usual stamp of the Society. Formerly, the Missionaries used to give away Bibles to their supposed proselytes:—latterly they sold them for three piastres each, about ten pence halfpenny:—but an Arab would have no difficulty in disposing of the cover to one of the native merchants or Scribes, to use as a *portfolio* for his papers and memoranda, which he usually carries with him in the loose folds of his upper garments; and there is nothing which answers this purpose so well as a Bible-back!

ence consisting in the form and colour of the turban. Those who have money transactions with Greek and Armenian merchants in London, have frequent opportunities of seeing this dress: it is by far the most common, and comparatively little modified all over the East. Never by any chance, do we meet with tight clothes, unless as a sign of mourning;—the loose, outer garments being then thrown aside, in part or altogether: as if to convey an idea of frantic distress, occasioned by the death of a dear friend or relative:—the Persian saying, is—"His vest has become tight to his body!"

When the notary was first introduced to our acquaintance, we were very busy arranging our papers, and the various notices and plans which had been given us by friends resident at Cairo. I had just made up a packet of letters for England, ready to send off *by the first opportunity*:—for there was then no *regular* communication, *no post*, and from the interior, no intercourse with the coast, at all! Thus the traveller should always have a budget ready to despatch by any courier or voyageur whom accident may throw in his way.* The day of our departure being now fixed, we began to count the hours that remained to us in Cairo. We had numerous arrangements still to make, and many things to see, which we did not wish to leave till our return. Moreover, we thought it advisable to pay a visit to Mohammed Ali, and obtain his "firmaun."

The affair of the notary was soon settled; but before

* This remark still holds good; albeit the exertions of the Oriental Steam Navigation Company have rendered the correspondence with Europe more easy. There was always a monthly packet to Malta; there is now one to Alexandria; and the French have opened a communication with Marseilles.

he proceeded to draw up the deed, the usual ceremony of pipes and coffee was gone through; during which, numerous salutations were interchanged: and thus, an hour was devoted to that which might have been completed with ease in twenty minutes; but it is neither prudent nor possible to hurry these gentry in their work: they must proceed in their own way: they go on slowly and systematically, and though they are not very energetic, they generally do their business well. As soon, however, as he was dismissed, and we were assured that every thing was legally and formally settled relative to the Cand'gia, we called in Mohammed and made him acquainted with our determination to depart for the interior on the morning of the 12th. We put into his hand a list of necessaries, and gave him instructions to set about procuring them immediately; which done, that he might have the rest of the day to himself, and visit his family.*

* For an account of Upper Egypt, Nubia, and a continuation of the Author's tour, see Vol. II. Chap. X.

CHAPTER XII.

CAIRO—IMPROVEMENTS OF THE VICEROY—STATISTICS—FAKIRS AND IMPOSTORS—THE INSANE—HOUSE OF INCURABLES—SCRIPTURE ILLUSTRATIONS—SEPULCHRES—"THE POSSESSED"—THE CASTING OUT OF DEVILS—THE BLESSINGS OF A FOSTERING GOVERNMENT—RELIGIOUS FERVOUR—ARAB METHOD OF COMPUTING TIME—THE MOS'QUES—NATIVE SCHOOLS—THE CITADEL, AND PALACE—THE MINT—PRINTING-OFFICE—HALL OF THE KH'ALIPHES, ETC.

WHILST all these things were preparing, we were not idle. Our future companions joined us, and with Osman Effendi as guide, we commenced our perambulations. The chief points of attraction, naturally enough, were the Pyramids! But it was thought better that we should visit a few other matters first:—look about the town, go to the citadel, bazaars, &c., in order to get accustomed, if I may so speak, to the *atmosphere* of the place. Every thing was new to us:—a multiplicity of objects followed one another in such quick succession, that at first it was hardly in our power to form an opinion concerning them. At a single glance, there seemed to be, as it were, a vortex of "organized confusion:"—a sort of semi-chaotic mass, hurried along, hurly burly, by some unknown, invisible agent; but on closer inspection, when we found ourselves in the midst of the animated crowd, it

was easy to discover that each, like the industrious labourers of an ant-hill, was under the influence of a power inherent in itself, and that it exercised both judgment and design. There was ample amusement to be obtained by riding through the streets, or by taking up one's station in a corner, to view the passers-by: such was the diversity of the scene!

I have already described the thoroughfares and buildings of the famous "Misr." The former may justly be compared to narrow, irregular avenues of gloomy prisons; the latter, though sometimes adorned with basins, and fountains of water, raised seats, or carpeted divans arranged in spacious courts, and into which the latticed windows of the apartments open, are, nevertheless, heavy, dull, monotonous-looking places, and form a remarkable contrast with the light, gay, neat, and elegant structures which we are accustomed to see in the West. I have alluded also to the apathy and indifference evinced by the people and the authorities concerning external appearances. Neither seem to care much about the neatness or orderly condition of the public ways, which are every where obstructed by heaps of rubbish and dirt. As there is no liberality or justice displayed by the government, and very little security for property, of course there is no confidence on the part of the inhabitants: and it is not to be supposed that either would expend money on repairs. Every man refrains from building; he props up his house as long as he can, and suffers it to become dilapidated. When it is no longer habitable, the walls crack; and threatening destruction, are very wisely deserted, though not until the last moment. When the whole gives way, the rubbish, instead of being removed, is suffered to remain where-

ever it may happen to fall; and not unfrequently becomes the basis of a new dwelling. This seems to have been the fashionable mode of proceeding for generations; we behold ruins mouldering upon ruins; and these are destined to become the resting place alternately of man and beast; especially in the suburbs of the city, where groups of dogs and jacals prowl and watch by day, and herd together at night; whilst man, their boasted master, is seen reclining in the open streets upon the earth, or else within some vault or tottering portico. Many of such houseless wanderers are not only destitute of clothing; but depending on a few parahs obtained during the day by begging, are so reduced for want of food, that they would scarcely have strength to repel the attacks made upon them by the dogs. At night, therefore, they very commonly take refuge in and about the sacred edifices, the porches of a mos'que, or the open court of a caravanserai, and have no other home. It is not an uncommon thing to see before the door of some Arab dwelling, a poor, lean, wasted animal, watching with parental solicitude, a litter of five or six pups, which, like herself, with difficulty obtain the scanty nourishment which nature needs; for notwithstanding these unfortunate creatures are regarded as unclean, and therefore shunned and neglected by the Mohammedan, such is the bond of connection between man and every domestic animal, that in spite of kicks and blows, the sagacious creature looks wistfully though fearfully, at those near whose dwelling she has ventured to place her offspring, as an eloquent appeal to the feelings which are implanted by Nature in the breast of all mankind; for *he* must have a heart of stone who could not be moved to sympathy, by the pitiful, impressive looks

of these most interesting of the Creator's works, at such a time. Alas! many of the unfortunate Fellahs are no better off; for they are to be seen basking, as I have stated, in the scorching sun-beams, emaciated, sick, and broken-hearted; and it is melancholy to read in the sunken eye and meagre aspect, that their own condition is little more than one remove from that of the neglected, wretched animals that yell or slumber in the dust before them. Many of the houses are but sheds, and we often meet with tents of straw, or mud-built huts, with something of an inclosure of the same materials. Nothing is more common in the streets of Cairo, than to stumble over an Arab at night. It is due to Mohammed Ali to state that great improvements are taking place in regard to the public thoroughfares. Many are being widened, and quantities of rubbish of all kinds have been recently removed by his order. The streets are also well watched, and better cleansed than formerly; but they are not lighted. It is, therefore, decreed that every individual who goes out after sun-set, shall carry with him one of the country "fanous," or lanterns.*

We are informed that Cairo contains 400 mos'ques, 11 bazaars, 300 public cisterns, 65 public baths, 140 native schools for the instruction of children, three hospitals on a very limited scale, which are attached to the casernes, and one miserable establishment for the infirm and insane. This is, I should think, pretty nearly correct; although for obvious reasons, it is very difficult to form any estimate of the actual population.

* These are of a cylindrical form, and are made of waxed linen, bound at either end with a circular piece of tin; the lower one forming the receptacle of a wax light. The parts are so compressible, that the candle being removed, the whole may be made flat and put in the pocket. They are not unlike the lanterns of the Chinese.

All we can say about it is, that it varies on the average, from 250,000, to 300,000. Changes are constantly taking place; and it is only within the last few years, that any attempt has been made to ascertain what the probable number of inhabitants might be. The returns were, I dare say, not very correct; and the authorities might find it their interest to make them as low or as high as possible, as circumstances arose: but there is no doubt whatever, that for some time past, it has been annually diminishing. The Pascha was aware of this; and prohibited the Arabs crossing the frontier, on pain of death. Nevertheless his proceedings have not tended to supply the deficiency! Although, it is true, that a great deal of the rubbish is being cleared away, and thrown into the numerous pits and irregularities about the city, still the general aspect in the immediate vicinity of the town, is any thing but prepossessing. It is that of neglect and desolation: for the iron hand of power is every where felt, and attended with its usual afflicting concomitants. Go where we please, wheresoever we turn our eyes, we observe nothing but dust, rubbish, toil, poverty, lamentation, and disease; unless perhaps we look towards the dwellings of certain rich men, where we may indeed behold indolence, luxury, sensuality, excess, and riot.

It is remarkable that the most notorious beggars in Cairo, are the Fakirs, ragged, ranting ecclesiastics, santons or saints. They are often called "Sitters in a Corner." They are men of austere, misanthropic character, who profess contempt of life, and of the world. Not satisfied with rejecting luxury, they inflict on themselves penance, and covet all manner of trials

and self-denial.* Some of them, a set of wild enthusiasts, are neither more nor less than madmen: yet they are allowed to be at large, and wander, "in puris naturalibus," about the city. They are regarded by the ignorant, and fanatics, who are only one remove perhaps from themselves, as the highly favoured of the prophet: and others, who profess to be a little more enlightened, do, nevertheless, hold them in awful veneration. They give them money, and would not dare to oppose their will. Many of these deluded creatures are, beyond all doubt, deranged; but there are not wanting those, who from convenience and craftiness, imitate them; and (like the ascetics of Europe in olden time, who pretended to mortify the body by rigid abstinence, castigation, and prayer,) dress themselves in rags, smear their bodies with dust and ashes, and make a trade of religion, by vending charms to prevent the "evil-eye," and by "laying their hands" upon the sick and barren: thereby imposing upon the credulity of the simple. Mohammed Ali does not however, interfere, although he knows them to be a set of lying impostors: and what is still worse, he entirely disregards those who, being really helpless and insane, should not only be carefully watched and protected, but removed from the public eye: whereas these afflicted beings are left to themselves as the objects of "God's peculiar care," and they are suffered to prowl about, in the midst of a large and mixed population, without any sort of provision being made for their natural wants. Many of them are women, and equally destitute of clothing and food. Still they are neglected, and suffered to live on common charity.

* See an interesting dialogue with a Fakir, in Mr. St. John's Book on Egypt, vol. i. p. 127: see also pp. 137 and 208.

These most degraded of mortals are generally in the most filthy condition, from rolling in the dust and offal, in every loathsome corner. But they do not take refuge *only* in the solitary places and among the tombs, as in the days of our Saviour. They are permitted to wander wheresoever they please, —in the bazaars, and in the most crowded parts of the metropolis. There, alone they sit, brooding over sorrows imaginary or real, viewed with superstitious dread by some, despised and avoided by others, and—neglected by all! They either mutter incoherently to themselves, or they gaze in silent apathy at the passing multitude. If money be thrown to them they heed it not; but suffer it to lie upon the earth before them, apparently regardless of its worth; but if bread be offered, they seize it with avidity, and swallow it with all the savage voracity of a famished hound.

There are few, I apprehend, who take up *this* sort of life by *profession*, (albeit, Fakirs will often go great lengths). There is every reason to believe that these unfortunate outcasts are really what they seem to be,—the unprotected victims of disease: and there is no doubt that their affliction is often aggravated by the bodily sufferings which they are compelled to endure; whereas it might be diminished, and in many instances removed, by acts of kindness, and the interposing hand of charity. But here, alas! notwithstanding the talked of doings of Clot Bey on medical subjects, no attempt is made to alleviate their condition: and the only way in which, it would seem, Mohammed Ali interferes respecting them is, if they are unmanageable, to turn them over to the tender mercy of the native physicians, a set of ignorant men, who regard them as *incurable* whether they are or not, and dispose of them ac-

cordingly: or, as I am informed, if they are not absolutely furious, to make soldiers of them!* This latter assertion I can hardly credit; but I am assured that the Pascha, from political motives, allows some of these "mad scheikhs" as they are called, to accompany an expedition, that they may encourage the superstitious in battle, and stir up the fanatic! Be this as it may; it is impossible to imagine a more shocking or humiliating spectacle than is afforded by the appearance and condition of these most hapless of all outcasts; whether we regard them as seen in the public streets, or huddled together in that most horrible and disgusting of *prisons*, the "Mouritan," or lunatic asylum. This dreadful place of torture is a charnel-house of the most revolting kind. I positively know not how to describe it. No language *can* convey an adequate idea of its terrors. It was founded about 500 years ago, as a house for "incurables!" Alas! if all were confined there who are beyond the reach of charms and talismans!—But, to continue: it consists of four vaulted chambers with recesses and iron gratings, within which these unfortunate wretches are to be seen crouching, or rolled up, (many of them chained by the neck) in a state of nudity, and begrimed with their own dirt. They are neither washed, nor taken out of their cell. They are kept there like wild beasts, and fed through the bars of their den, which is itself in a most offensive and filthy condition, and barely high enough to admit of the erect posture. No attempt is made to restore them; they are placed there as "incurables," and left to die! They have not so much as a bundle of straw to lie upon. Some, I saw,

* It is an undeniable fact that on certain occasions, these wretched maniacs are beaten with iron rods.

less violent than the rest; but there seemed to be no variation in their treatment. I will not attempt to particularize the scenes to which I was an eye-witness during my residence in this city. I should shock the feelings of my readers if I did, and some would scarcely believe the horrors I should depict. Suffice it to say, as regards the wretched inmates of the "Mouritan," that their general aspect was gaunt, dejected, and squalid; their whole form emaciated, and variously diseased; their manner lethargic, wild, or sullen. In another portion of the building, groups of miserable objects were to be seen crawling about, or reclining despondingly, on the bare stones; here and there, one enveloped in rags, but most of them were naked: they were all more or less covered with sores and eruptions, eaten up with vermin, and their bones ready to start through their skin, which was shrivelled or tumid; and in some parts cracked and bleeding. These were chiefly the aged and paralytic, cripples, and those who were either confirmed idiots, slightly imbecile, or afflicted with fits,—in other words, "possessed of devils and unclean spirits,"—*incurable* of course; and therefore brought to this *asylum* for the infirm and destitute! So that the establishment (which was doubtless framed with the best intentions, according to Mohammedan notions,) is not limited to the insane. I trust the time is not far distant, now that the counsels of the English have a chance of being listened to, when this execrable lazaret will be abolished, and a hospital, founded on Christian principles, erected in its place. The chambers which I have here spoken of, surround an open court, in the midst of which there is a fountain. That portion of the edifice which is allotted to the lunatics, has also its

fountain; and connected with it there is much superstition. Numerous are the cures which these miraculous waters are said to have effected. Every day the sick and credulous come there to dip their finger in the stream; and those that are bed-ridden or lame, cause themselves to be paraded round the courts and precincts; but the peculiar efficacy of the "Moyé Mouritan," is reserved for the epileptic, the blind, and the barren!

St. Luke, who was a physician, a man of education, and a traveller, describes the various diseases of his time, much more accurately and more minutely than either of his contemporaries; it would seem, that the same diseases prevailed then in Syria and Egypt as now, and that the various practices adopted by the people concerning them, have very little changed during a period of nearly 2000 years. Nothing is more common in the present day in the East, than to be told that a person is "possessed of a devil," or that he has "got a devil;" and the expression is applied more or less to almost every complaint. The reader may remember that I had occasion to notice this immediately on my arrival in the country;* and we are continually meeting with the same expression in the writings of the Evangelists.† Thus in the 8th chapter of St. Luke's gospel, we read that when our Saviour landed from the Sea of Galilee, "there met him *out of the city*, a certain man, which had devils a long time, and *ware no clothes, neither abode in any house, but in the tombs.*" We are told that the unfortunate man called upon our Saviour as he passed,

* See Chap. III. p. 73.

† See Matth. iv. 23, 24.—viii. 16, 17, 28.—xvii. 15, 18.—St. Mark v. 3, 4, 5.—St. Luke viii. 2, 27, 29.—xi. 14.

that he would cure him, or, in the language of the day, that he should not be tormented: for it is stated that the unclean spirit had "oftentimes caught him," and that "he was kept bound with chains and in fetters;" but that "he brake the bands and was driven of the devil into the wilderness." Now this is a very beautiful and consistent account of a case of insanity. We have reason to believe, on the authority of the Scriptures, that it was no uncommon thing to chain and confine lunatics when violent, *in the tombs*, an expression which will be easily understood, when the steady, settled state of the climate is kept in mind; and also that, for the most part, the tombs, especially the ancient tombs, both in Egypt and Judæa, consist of *chambers cut in a rock*, such, for instance, as the chambers at Qh'ournâh,* the tomb of Lazarus at Bethany, and that of Joseph of Arimathea at Calvary. We can imagine that a spare tomb would be a very convenient and suitable place for the confinement of lunatics under certain circumstances; but there seems to be no doubt that those who were more moderate, were allowed to betake themselves to the sepulchres, which were then, as now, situated near the city gates; and that they were accustomed there to sit or wander in solitude, brooding over their misfortunes, and holding converse with themselves, without any molestation. Accordingly, the account given by St. Luke of the meeting of our Saviour with a notorious and violent madman, who had contrived to elude the vigilance of the inhabitants, and was so furious that he struck terror into the soul of every one who beheld him, is very plain and natural; and it is confirmed by the

* A district of Thebes.—See Matt. xxvii. 60, 66.—John xi. 38.—xix. 41.—Ezek. xxxii. 23.—Gen. l. 5.

statements of the other evangelists; but especially by those of St. Mark, who informs us, in the 5th chapter of his Gospel, that the same man "had his dwelling among the tombs, and no man could bind him, no not with chains: because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains; and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces: neither could any man tame him. And always night and day, he was in the mountains, and *in* the tombs, crying and cutting himself with stones."*

I may mention two other portions of Scripture, though very many might be quoted relative to this interesting subject. In the 17th chapter of St. Matthew, we read that a certain man presented himself before our Saviour, and kneeling down, said, "Lord, have mercy on my son; for he is lunatic and sore vexed: for oft-times he falleth into the fire, and oft into the water. And I brought him to thy disciples, and they could not cure him." And when the child was brought, "Jesus *rebuked the devil: and he departed out of him:* and the child was *cured* from that very hour."†

St. Luke also, in the 11th chapter of his Gospel, informs us in the 14th verse, that on a certain occasion, Jesus "*was casting out a devil* and it was *dumb*, and it came to pass, when the devil was gone out, the dumb spake: and the people wondered."

I have known the Reverend Mr. Wolff ridiculed for stating, that one evening, when he was passing between Jerusalem and Cairo, he "*cast out a devil* in the wil-

* St. Mark v. 3, 4, 5.

† This, I conceive, must have been a case of epilepsy occurring in the person of an idiot.

derness;" but I can only suppose that he used the expression in the sense here alluded to; and that he merely employed the native idiom. I shall have occasion to speak of this circumstance, however, another time. I have often been myself applied to, in Syria and other parts, to *cast out a devil*, by which I merely understood that I was to cure the bodily ailments of the individual; not that I was expected to perform a *miracle* on the occasion, further than that the cure of every disease is ascribed by the natives to talismanic influence. Perhaps, however, the expression may be more fully applicable to those complaints which have a marked effect upon the mind, and which are of a serious and more permanent nature.

How happy should we be to think that we live in a Christian country where all are protected by the laws; where the sick and destitute are provided for; and where even the wretched maniac may find an asylum! But what, alas! becomes of the poor in Egypt? What provision is made for the aged? Who shall direct the footsteps of the blind, or support the cripple? In short, how scanty and inefficient is the relief afforded to the unfortunate in any despotic lands! Where is the unhappy sufferer, the gaunt, and hollow eyed, the silent and despairing victim of melancholy, to seek a respite from his sorrows? Or how is the unfriended child of adversity to assuage his grief in the savage regions of tyranny, where the rights of man are despised and trampled on, where the sweets of sympathy are seldom felt, where *might* is right, and he only obtains justice who has gold to pay for it,—and where there is neither confidence nor social intercourse? When shall the afflicted cease to mourn, or the desponding hypochondriac receive comfort? Hapless

indeed is the condition of those who, like the Egyptians, are doomed to trial and adversity beneath the sceptre of a stern monarch, whose ambition and avarice know no bounds, and whose only care is self-aggrandizement. If Mohammed Ali were really anxious to promote civilization, he would direct his thoughts to these matters, and endeavour to gain the affections of his people by acts of liberality and justice.

The Arabs are full of talent, industrious, and well disposed: they only want encouragement; and if the Pascha of Egypt would refrain from monopoly and extortion, and repose in them the confidence they deserve, *they* would become enlightened, and *he* would have the satisfaction of knowing that he reigned in the hearts of one of the finest and noblest races of men in the whole world: they would promote his interest in every way, and cheerfully shed their blood in his defence. But at present, the reverse is the case;—the whole land is enslaved from one end to the other, and its ruler is most sincerely detested: the people are treated like dogs, whose well-being forms no part of their master's concern, and they are left to degenerate and starve in the midst of a land of plenty. This is very shocking; and, as Dr. John Armstrong truly observed,—"In any country, opulent or not, it is a disgrace to the government, that any one who dares to claim its protection, should ever perish for want of necessaries. There ought to be no distress from want. Employ the poor that are able to work; but supply the infirm and superannuated with a comfortable home and subsistence. The greatest miseries of life are often not to be cured, not even to be soothed, by all the

advantages of wealth. And what a shameful, inhuman crime it is to neglect those to which a wise police and good government could always apply an infallible remedy."*

After riding for some time, about the streets of Grand Cairo—"Misr," "the Mother of the World," and as the Arabs also inform us, "without equal,"—we were anxious to obtain a general view of its situation and extent, and therefore thought we could not do better than mount the citadel. In our way, we passed several mos'ques and fountains, which are deservedly admired for their lightness and general architectural character.† The doors of the former are constantly kept open, and the inhabitants are permitted to enter at any hour of the day or night, without restraint. I could not but think that in this respect, the Christians would do well to take a lesson from the Mohammedans. A certain consciousness of error and apparent want of zeal, insidiously stole upon me; and I blushed for the credit of my country, which, in her anxiety to guard against the superstitions of popery, has, I am afraid, fallen a *little* into the opposite extreme. As I beheld the Arabs pass in and out, I could not but acknowledge, that although as a nation, we are more enlightened than they, we still *appear to be* less *fervent* in the cause of religion, in as much as we shut up our places of worship, with some exceptions for six days together:—we bar the doors against all without distinction, a circumstance for which we are able to assign no good reason: and what is worse,—we exhibit our principal mosques (that is, our cathedrals and abbeys,) for money! No person is admitted else, except during the

* Miscellanies, vol ii. p. 213.

† See Mr. Hay's exquisite Illustrations of Cairo.

time of public worship! The Providence of God is unbounded: it "sleepeth not:"—and the prayers of the just are freely heard, at all times, and in all places. Howbeit, in every age, and in every country, it has been the custom to dedicate some particular spot or situation to the worship of the Divine Being. That spot was always venerated as the "Holy of Holies:" it was mentioned with awe, and thought of as the hallowed dwelling of the Omnipotent. It might be a "grove," a "desert place," or a "mountain;" a "heap of stones," a "cave," a "circle," or a "tabernacle:" —thither all would retire, as often as it suited them, for the purposes of prayer, and praise, and thanksgiving. By whatever appellation it might be known,—however simple, or magnificent, conspicuous, or obscure, it was nevertheless—*the church—the temple of the living God*,—and being such, it was regarded as a national, public sanctuary, a place of refuge for the afflicted and the oppressed in spirit; an asylum whose doors should be open to all alike, to which the man of sorrows might repair, *at any hour* without restraint, where, unobserved, he might forget the world and all its cares, freely unburden his thoughts, and in pious aspirations to the Deity, discharge his grief:—a consecrated spot to which the aged might go to muse upon the days that were gone, and where the holy man who takes delight in solitude, might pass the silent hours in peaceful meditation. Who has not felt the thrilling influence of his Maker's presence, when treading the arched, and sculptured aisles of a sacred edifice, he has beheld around him the pious votaries of religion at their devotions? A Druidical Cromlech will beget respect; and as we trace the mouldering ruins of an antiquated chapel, and contemplate beneath its totter-

ing, ivy-mantled towers, the marble depositories of the dead fast crumbling into dust, we are reminded that the ground on which we stand is holy! Who has not felt his heart glow within him as he casually passed along, and heard the peals of the loud anthem which proclaimed the majesty of his God? And how often have we then been tempted to enter in, and

> "Hail the Universal Lord
> Who bounteous ever, gives us only good!"

Shall we alone of all His creatures, on whom so many of His choicest gifts have been bestowed, refuse to meditate upon His glorious works? Rather let us declare His name and "power divine," that others may be led to do Him homage: and

> "As in Heav'n, the Angels who behold Him
> Circle His throne rejoicing, and with songs
> And choral symphonies, day without night,
> Praise Him who out of darkness call'd up light;
> So,—joining voices all, let us on earth,
> In honor to the world's great Author rise,
> And laud Him first, Him last, and without end!"

Even the ancient Egyptians were wont to indulge occasionally in this most delightful of all seclusion. Whenever they felt sad, they would withdraw from society, and betake themselves to the tomb of a friend or relative: there they would reside for days, or even weeks, in the spacious and solemn mansions of the departed,—away from the bustle of this life, and in serious contemplation of the life to come. An European being never *seen* to pray, is thought by a Mussulmaun to have no religion at all; and he professes the greatest contempt for him in consequence: clearly demonstrating the necessity of *public* as well as private prayer; at the same time that it offers a very severe reproof to certain philosophers, whose vanity has so

blinded their judgment, that they are unable to penetrate beyond second causes! I certainly cannot understand why in protestant countries, we close the doors of our churches as we do;—there is something very cold in the idea, and which seems to argue indifference:—nay, were we to tell an Arab that he is *superstitious*, he would be quite justified in retorting upon us, that since *we* only pray in public *on the Sabbath*, and *by rule*, *he*, who is accustomed to pour out his heart with a true feeling of devotion, in the sanctuary of his God, as often as he is oppressed with care, and whenever he feels himself in a state of mind suited to hold commune with his Maker, (whether it be to supplicate his forgiveness, to glorify Him as the Deity, the Omnipotent Creator of the universe, who is beyond all praise; or to offer his humble but sincere tribute of thanksgiving for his bountiful Providence and Mercy,) would assuredly evince more of the real *spirit* of religion than ourselves: for that, acting as we do, we seem to he ashamed to let our "good works shine before men," or to be *seen to acknowledge* that there *is* a Supreme Being! I have had occasion to discuss this subject with Mohammedans, and I am by no means sure that their inferences were incorrect; I cannot divest myself of the idea, that a man who enters the house of prayer only on the Sabbath day, from mere habit, when there are so many things to divert his attention, and because his education has taught him to observe the sacred institutions of his country, is quite as much in danger of being called a *formalist*, as an illiterate, simple Arab who has been taught in like manner, rigidly to perform his ablutions, to observe the fasts and ordinances of his Prophet, scrupulously to abstain from wine and other unlawful food, and to

prostrate himself upon the earth with his face in the direction of the holy "Kaaba," punctually five times a-day! On the other hand, he who can conscientiously step aside from the busy scenes of life, and calmly offer up, in the Temple of his Maker, the aspirations of a grateful heart, in acknowledgment of the mercies which he is hourly experiencing at his hands, cannot I should think, be a very bad man. He is likely to keep his mind in better discipline than if he entered a place of worship at stated periods only; the exercise is at least a salutary one; and if he be sincere, he will return to the world again, at peace with his Redeemer, and with increased feelings of benevolence to mankind. A king once asked a learned man, on what the faithful might rely for Divine aid under difficulties. He told him, "Chiefly upon two things; *prayer* and *resignation!* Submit patiently to the will of the Most High: be just to all; defend the helpless; comfort the afflicted; *show forth* thy gratitude for every benefit bestowed: and endeavour as much as possible, to let thy thanks be in the full measure of the Divine blessings, and follow the course of infinite bounty!" However, this is a subject for the divines, and it becomes me to leave it for their consideration.*

The minarets of Cairo are very picturesque objects; they rise above the other buildings like a forest of stone, and are a great relief to the heavy, flat roofs of the city. However monotonous the sounds of the Muezzin's voice when calling the sons of Islam to their devotions, at the hours prescribed in the Khoran,

* I would be understood, by the remarks in which I have indulged, to refer rather to the *voluntary religious communings* of individuals, than to the administration of public ordinances, or the *preaching* of the Gospel. Nevertheless, I am humbly of opinion, that in all national churches, certain prayers should be offered up, and hymns sang, every morning and evening.

they beget pleasing associations; especially in a populous city like Cairo, where the Had'gjs with their green turbans, the reputed descendants of the Prophet, and the more pious Scheikhs, abound; and are to be seen quitting their occupations in the bazaars, and flocking together with a variety of more humble devotees, to the many-columned porches of a favourite mosque. There is something extremely beautiful in this: and I will frankly own, that, although I had resided some time in the East, with seldom an opportunity of attending a place of Christian worship, I was not quite insensible to religious impressions. I could not look upon such scenes without reverence; and they called forth a thousand delightful recollections of home; such as I would not have been denied for all the world. But, these are subjects which those only can appreciate who have been separated from their native land; and the dull tones of the Muezzin must be heard amid the peculiar associations of an Eastern city, to be listened to with pleasure. It may not be universally known, that in Mohammedan countries, there are neither public clocks nor bells: indeed nothing is more offensive to the ear of a Mussulmaun than the latter, as he is immediately reminded of the Christians, who, he is aware, attach them to their churches. In the East, time is reckoned differently from what it is with us. The Arabs always set their watches at sun-set, this being the commencement of the first hour! They speak of the *night of to-morrow*,—supposing that at first, all was "Chaos!" Then begins the day, which is divided into five parts or "watches." The "Mogreb," or first prayer, commences as soon as the sun dips the horizon. The "Asha," or second prayer, begins an hour and-a-half after sun-set. The "Fed'gr," or third watch, is looked

for about an hour before sun-rise, or as soon as the sun appears;—when the "cock crows:" or as the Bedoueens say, "when we can first distinguish a white thread from a black one," or "a white horse from a grey one."—Thus, our Saviour said to Saint Peter, "Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice!" The wandering tribes sometimes distinguish between the "false dawn," and the "true dawn,"—thus rendering this watch less determinate.* The "Doh'r," or fourth watch, commences at mid-day. It is ascertained by dials and time-pieces, and by the length of the shadow. When the sun is at its highest, or exactly over our heads, it is at its meridian: and there is then little or no shadow. To determine this correctly, the inhabitants of the Desert put up a stick or a heap of stones, close to their encampment. The "As'r," or fifth prayer, is mid-way between noon and sun-set, which is of course easily determined, either by the length of the shadow or by the watch. At each of these periods, the Ulemah regularly call the hour of prayer from the summit of the minarets, "Allah! Allah! il Allah! Repent! Time flies! Prayer is better than sleep! God is merciful! Blessed be God!" &c.

* The Rev. Mr. Arundel, who was many years chaplain to the British Consulate at Smyrna, and who accompanied me to the Magnetic Mountains in Asia Minor, (on which country he has published two admirable works,) makes some interesting remarks on the astonishing regularity with which the cock keeps the watches in these climates. He states that "he has often heard the cocks crowing in full chorus between 11 and 12 o'clock, with scarcely the variation of a minute:"—and the *second* crowing, which is alluded to by St. Mark, is, he says, "*between one and two o'clock.*"—I do not wish it therefore to be understood that the *crowing of the cock* is a sign of the "third, or morning watch," *only*. Bright Chanticleer lets himself be heard at intervals, throughout the night; though possibly he may proclaim *the dawn* with more vigour! See Mark xiv. 30. xiii. 35. Arundel's "Discoveries in Asia Minor"—and his "Seven Churches of Asia."—See also the Author's "Observations on the Phenomena of Magnetic Influence," as given in the Athenæum of January 4th, 1834:—being the substance of a paper laid before the Philosophical Society of Cambridge.

They also arrest the public attention by first striking a board with a piece of wood, as a substitute for a bell. We read in the Scriptures, that "the evening and the morning were the fifth day." But the Hebrew expression here means "period" I believe.

It is said that in Cairo, there are not fewer than from three to four hundred mos'ques. Some of them are large and splendid, being adorned with an almost incredible number of granite and limestone columns, taken from Memphis, and other of the Egyptian remains. It is asserted that some contain as many as 500, and 1000 columns; and I can imagine it to be true. There is a ruined mos'que of this description, between Old and New Cairo—I certainly did not count the columns, but I dare say there have been nearly that number. The mos'ques present some fine specimens of Oriental architecture. It may suffice to allude to a few of the principal. The "Mos'que of 100 Columns," stands to the south of the present city; and in that part called "Mis'r el Attikè,—Mis'r the unequalled,—the mother of the world!" Some ancient Arabic books have been discovered there. I believe the largest mos'que in Cairo is that of "El Jama Azah'ar." It is immensely rich, and is said to contain some valuable MSS. It is perhaps really the most important and valuable institution in Egypt, as it affords a shelter and pecuniary relief to the indigent blind. It stands in the middle of the city; and numbers of these unfortunate creatures are led thither to pray; a great many sleep there: Van Egmont says not less than "2000 every night," and that "between 5000 and 6000 receive subsistence from it daily:" moreover, that "those who partake of its revenues, amount to 40,000, though many of them live in different parts of the

country."* The mos'que of "El Azah'ar" or mos'que of "flowers," has been always in repute as a sort of "Medresseh," college, or theological school, founded, it is said, by the Kh'aliphe Al Moez. The sons of persons of distinction, Scheikhs, and Beys, and learned men, without regard to country, sect, or tribe, used at one period, to come there for instruction. †

The next mos'que in point of size is also one of considerable beauty. It is called the mos'que of "Sultan Hassan, or Hassein." It is situated immediately at the base of the rock or hill on which the citadel stands; and there is a spacious square or plot of ground in front of it, which sets it off to great advantage. It is built in the form of a parallelogram: it has two beautiful Arabes'que minarets, and the centre is surmounted by a large cupola. The upper part of the parapet is ornamented with a deep frieze; and in different compartments of the building, particularly at the sides, there is a variety of light sculpture, commonly denominated Gothic; but it is more properly Moorish:—a style which was introduced into Europe by the Arabians who invaded Spain.§ The mos'que which takes the name of "Sultan-el-Gh'ouri," and another, more recently erected at a great expense by

* Vol. ii. p. 67.

† Van Egmont was assured, that there were above fifty professors or masters on the establishment, and that the number of scholars and other persons then belonging to it, amounted to 13,000. "These masters also judicially determine all disputes and processes cognizable by law; and for this reason it is, that no Mufti resides at Cairo, as is common in all other cities of the Turkish dominions." Ali Bey (Badhia) mentions it as the favourite resort of the Moggrebins, as far west as Morocco. *It has now lost its celebrity.* "Fez, the Athens of Western Africa, El Azah'ar, the portico of the East, and Mecca their holy city, are all nodding to their fall."—See Jowett's Researches, p. 120.

§ See two beautiful sketches in a clever little book by Captain Fitz-Morris.—Also Mr. Hay's Illustrations; and two similar works by Mr. Roberts, one on Spain, the other on Egypt.

Mohammed Bey Abou-D'Hah'ab, are also worthy of the traveller's attention.

The Citadel holds a conspicuous position at the eastern extremity of Cairo, projecting from a point of the Mokattam range, and completely over-awing the town. From the ramparts is to be obtained perhaps one of the most interesting panoramic views in the world. It is a very strong place, but not impregnable; being at the mercy of any batteries which might be hastily thrown up on the ridge of the neighbouring heights: and which, if properly fortified by the Viceroy, would add considerably to its importance. A great deal has been done, and there was always one fort there, intended to defend this situation; but it was only large enough to contain a garrison of 400 men: and being commanded from the various eminences around, it would not be able to hold out very long: notwithstanding it is bomb proof. A vigorous attack would doubtless be made upon it in the event of a siege, with the view of getting some heavy guns to bear upon the citadel.* The outworks have lately been strengthened, under the direction of some French engineers; but I imagine that fortifying Cairo is something like fortifying Paris—it may keep the people quiet, but that is all; it will not prevent invasion!

The approach to the fortress is very imposing; and reminds us of the avenue leading to Warwick Castle, the road being cut through solid rock; but that of Cairo is much more extensive: there is no occasion to dismount, although there are here and there flights of steps, the ascent being easy. Having passed the gates, which are massive and strong, we entered upon an

* For a more full description of this fort, see Light's Travels, p. 259.

open court or square containing many buildings, in various conditions. It was here that the massacre of the Mamlûks chiefly took place,—an act of atrocity which nothing could justify: but of this hereafter. Immediately in front of this court, in the palace of Mohammed Ali, securely and substantially built, but neither extensive nor grand in its appearance; nor does the interior impress us with any extraordinary idea of Oriental magnificence; albeit, His Highness makes Cairo his principal residence. As soon as we had ascended from the vestibule, we were required, in conformity with etiquette, to take off our red slippers, and leave them at the entrance to the state apartments. These are spacious and lofty; some of them elegantly furnished with divans of scarlet cloth and blue silk fringe, mats and carpets; the walls are decorated with beautiful specimens of the Arabesque: and there is a variety of carving, and painting in fresco, similar to that in the palace at Alexandria. The ceilings are supported by light columns with gilded capitals, and are in excellent keeping with the rest. The whole is chaste, and suitable to the climate; and when brilliantly illuminated, may possibly be made to look very rich. The windows being numerous, the chambers and corridors have a cool and cheerful aspect; especially those which open upon the terraces and gardens, and which command a view of the distant Nile, its groves and kiosks. The great hall is adorned with pillars on every side; otherwise, like the anti-rooms adjoining, it exhibits nothing very remarkable. There is an old mos'que in the citadel, which, like all other buildings of the same kind, has its cupola, minaret, and galleries; and within are several colonnades, cut and inscribed in the usual way with quotations from the Kh'oran.

We were not indulged with a view of the ladies; and descended once again to the noisy throng in the courts below, without encountering a single glance from a single black eye—except from mustachioed Janizaries, Eunuchs, Ethiopians, and Arabs of the guard! We were indebted to Monsieur Walmas, the Pascha's chief interpreter, to whom I was introduced by Boghos Youssouff Bey, for the opportunity of seeing the interior of the palace. I believe we were shown every thing to which strangers are permitted access, and returned home much gratified. Our "Kawaass"* had orders to conduct us over all the most important of the government works. Accordingly, we proceeded to inspect the Mint, the machinery of which is still turned by oxen. Great improvements are taking place in every department. Formerly, coining here required great labour and dexterity; for the persons employed had no other way of melting the metal than by means of a pair of hand-bellows. The apparatus now in use is entirely new, and Monsieur D'Arcet has introduced a reverberatory furnace.† We deferred visiting the cannon-foundry and other works in the Arsenal, just then, as Galloway Bey the chief engineer, had kindly offered to conduct us thither himself. The Printing Office, as might be expected, is an insignificant esta-

* Guide.

† The gold pieces which are coined in Egypt consist of sequins, and half and quarter sequins; and the silver pieces are piastres and parahs. The sequin is worth about thirty-four piastres, the piastre being equal to three pence half penny English. The whole of the coin, but more especially the silver, possesses very little real value. As to the parahs, forty of them are reckoned to the piastre; and they are so light, that they are not unfrequently blown away by the wind: they are made of iron, and slightly washed over with silver, which soon begins to wear off: the piastres are not much better. Mohammed Ali has lately been prohibited by the Sultan, from circulating any other than the currency of Stamboul. The government transactions and stipulated payments, are generally made in "purses," and a purse is worth 500 piastres, or about seven guineas.—See Appendix.

blishment; and the only thing worth mentioning, is, that an effort has been made to print a newspaper,—the "Cairo Gazette." We can easily conceive that the difficulties which an Editor must have to contend with in such a country, must be enormous. Where the population consists of almost every nation and language, —where there are so many different interests to serve —such discrepancy and caprice in regard to religion, politics, taste, feeling, and principle,—to say nothing of the jealousy and deeply rooted prejudices of the Ulemah, and the Scheikhs, and innumerable obstacles likely to be thrown in his way by the Pascha and his officers, the success of such an undertaking must be very doubtful. I am afraid the prospects at present are not very bright; let us hope they will improve; there is no want of talent if it is only encouraged. Credit is certainly due to those who have made the first attempt: the step is a very important one, and if promoted by the merchants, must ultimately lead to beneficial results.

The next point of attraction was "Joseph's Well," an object of some interest, as it reminded us of the famous Khaliphe Youssouff, or "Salah-ed-Din"—a designation which being interpreted, signifies "destroyer of infidels and heathens;" but which the moderns have converted into "Saladin."* It is certainly a wonderful excavation, having been cut to the depth of 270 feet, through solid calcareous rock, and measuring at the opening 45 feet in diameter. It was formerly intended to supply the citadel with water, but it would afford a very scanty supply now; and might be cut off altogether in the event of a siege. Moreover, the reservoir being on a level with the Nile, it has to percolate the intervening strata, and it becomes brackish in conse-

* See The History of the Crusades.

quence. This is not the only work of the kind to be met with. According to Monsieur Maillet, there are five other wells of a similar description, at the foot of the mountains near Old Cairo. We descended the shaft by means of a winding, spiral stair; each person carrying with him a wax taper. There is plenty of room, and the air is not unpleasant; but the steps are broken, slippery, and dirty. Half way down, or at the depth of about 150 feet, is a large cistern, erected in a spacious chamber, which is filled by means of a wheel, turned by oxen, or buffaloes, in the same way as that above. The drivers and those employed with them, seemed to take it very easily, and were enjoying their pipe with perfect nonchalance. The staircase now becomes narrower, and there is no longer any parapet; it is not worth the trouble of descending: there is nothing to see at the bottom but a pool of water, only made use of now to irrigate the palace gardens, within the walls of the citadel, to which it is conducted by pipes. On leaving "Joseph's well," we enquired for the ancient palace, the same in which the renowned "Salah-ed-Din" is said to have lodged. But alas! a few, and very few, upright monolithic columns, a gateway, and part of a heavy looking wall, alone remained to mark the spot. Heaps of masonry, broken shafts, scrolls, and architraves, more or less buried in rubbish, were strewed about; and a modern fountain or tank, built by Mohammed Ali, occupied part of this noble site. Some of the columns, still standing, were most beautiful: they were light and elegant, and surmounted by a richly ornamented capital. But I am sorry to say, that future travellers will see no more of them, as the workmen had commenced cutting them down for repairing the damage which was done in

1824, by the explosion of a magazine; and those which were not then demolished, have since been appropriated to the engineering projects of the Viceroy. The fate of "Joseph's hall" is sealed!—the princely home of the mighty "Saladin" is destroyed! The favoured spot where the champions of Islam used to meet, and the banners of the Crescent were unfurled, will soon be forgotten, like a tale that is told: the gilded domes, the lofty spires, the painted chambers, which were for ages the pride and boast of the Saracens, will have passed away like a dream; and generations yet unborn will say, when the early days of chivalry are named:—"Man, vain, all-sufficient man, moves like a shadow upon the earth, and disappears;—he struts his hour, and plays his part, but knoweth not the end thereof!"—What would the Hero of the East have said could he have foreseen that the descendants of a line of kings, the faithful followers of the Prophet, would be treacherously overthrown; and the last blow to his own honour struck by a *Moslem!*—"*Sic transit gloria mundi!*"

CHAPTER XIII.

CAIRO—VIEW FROM THE CASTLE TERRACE—TENDENCY OF MOHAMMED ALI'S PROCEEDINGS TO PROMOTE CHRISTIANITY—THE KHORAN—APOLOGY FOR THE PASCHA—GALLOWAY BEY—THE FRANK POPULATION—MOSLEM ABHORRENCE OF IDOLATRY—ESTIMATION OF EUROPEANS—ORIENTAL LITERATURE—DISEASES OF THE HEART; ASTHMA; CONSUMPTION:—DONKEY BOYS—THE ASS OF L'HASSA—IDOLS OF MNEVIS AND APIS—THE CITY OF "ON"—THE SHEPHERD KINGS—GOSHEN—THE COTTON PLANT—"AIN SHEMYSS"—"TREE OF THE MADONNA"—THE NILOMETER OF HELIOPOLIS—BORING FOR WATER IN THE WILDERNESS, ETC.

THE view from the castle terrace is one of the finest that can be imagined. Near at hand, is the modern city, irregular in shape, but somewhat resembling a quadrant: rising above the flat roofs of the houses, we distinguish the gloomy walls of the Greek and Latin convents, numerous tapering minarets, and graceful domes interspersed with trees; and looking down upon the square in which the noble mos'que of Sultan Hassan is situated, we observe near the outlets of several streets, numberless persons of all descriptions moving about, camels reposing, or passing to and fro, and soldiers exercising:—the eye is then attracted by the Nile, its cand'gias, plantations, and kiosks; D'germs laden with cotton, earthenware, or grain; the

beautiful little island of "Er-Rhouddah," thickly planted with acacias and sycamores; and an almost infinite variety of objects which the suburbs present. To the north-east are the buildings and port of Boulac, together with the gardens and palace of Shoubra on the one side; and on the other, the supposed site of Memphis, the ancient aqueduct, a Saracen fort, the pyramids of D'gizeh, Sakh'arah, Darshour, and Abousir:—to the east and south-east, the "Mokattam" hills, rocky and barren, extending in some places to the river; at others, receding and leaving a plain; which in former times was well cultivated, but which, is now, in many parts neglected:—stretching beneath these broken craggs, the new town, and the Nile, are the ruins and summer retreats of Fostât, (Old Cairo,) the Persian Babylon, and the site of a Roman garrison called Troy; beyond which, are the extensive quarries of Mount Attikêh, whence, we have reason to believe, the stone was taken for the building of Pharaoh's celebrated "Store Cities" &c.; but the view to the eastward, is more drear and melancholy, consisting only of sterile rocks, and mounds of sand, leading by the public burial grounds, and the cemeteries of the Kha'liphes, to the wilderness.

It has been justly remarked, that few spots present, in so small a compass, such an extraordinary assemblage of interesting objects; for ancient and modern times are strangely blended in the associations which they awaken. We are transported, at one moment, to the days of the Patriarchs,—at another to those of the Mamlûks and the Christians: if we look towards the north-east, our attention is directed to the Obelisque of Heliopolis, the mud villages of Matarieh, and the once fertile plains of Goshen, in the time of Jacob,

the "richest of the land, even the land of Rameses—" but now a parched waste; and the doings of Joseph and Moses, the Pharaohs, Cyrus, and Alexander, and of a long line of princes, distinguished by their virtues, by their cruelty, or by feats of arms, crowd in quick succession upon the imagination. Nor are the days of Egypt's pomp and glory, when Sesostris led his warriors to the field, and Israel toiled beneath the Egyptian yoke, forgotten!—Instinctively we ask—"Where is Memphis?"—Echo answers, "where?"—The finger then points to a spot at the base of the Libyan mountains, which is scarcely to be distinguished from the Desert itself, and where not a single vestige of a town is to be seen! This, the beauty of the whole scene, the glowing nature of the climate, the costumes of the people, and every object around us, combine to rivet the attention; whilst the history of Mohammed, the persecution of the sword, the progress of Christianity, and a variety of other important matters which relate to the story of mankind, pass in review before us. But still the mind reverts with pleasure to the events of modern times; and although it revolts at the recollection of the sufferings of the present generation, it is nevertheless consoled by the idea that the strenuous and unceasing exertions made by Mohammed Ali, must tend sooner or later, to civilization. Of course it is a work of time; and we cannot but regret that the Pascha's impatience to see his plans put in execution before he dies, should induce him to hurry them forward at such a reckless sacrifice of human life. The eyes of the natives are gradually opening, not only in Egypt, but in Syria, and other parts of the East. The Viceroy is fighting in the great cause of Christianity, although he knows it not; for the light

of his eyes is obscured, and his understanding darkened. He is paving the way for the gospel of Christ, in every possible manner:—1st, by neglecting the law of the Prophet:—2dly, by contrasting his own enormities with the generosity, justice, and noble demeanour of the Christians, by which he has secured the hatred of his subjects, and diminished his own resources:—3dly, by receiving so many Christians into his service; by exalting them to the highest posts of honour; by employing them in his army and navy, in the dock-yard, in the citadel, and manufactories; by adopting their manners and costumes; by receiving the produce of their country with avidity; and by consulting them on all occasions: but chiefly by opposing the decrees of the Sultan; who, be it remembered, is no less a person than the representative of the *Prophet* himself: and who, until now, had been implicitly obeyed, if not respected; and regarded as an object of fear and extreme veneration! In Egypt, however, the Pascha has led the way to disobedience, by setting his master at defiance; by proclaiming him a tyrant, and holding him up to universal contempt! Mohammedanism is on the wane, the axe is already laid at the root of the tree, and it will not be very long ere the fatal blow is struck; it is becoming every day weaker and weaker, for want of the nourishment it has been accustomed to receive from ignorance and fanaticism. He who *should be* one of the chief cultivators of the soil in which it is placed,—he who should dig about its roots, prune it, and protect it, taking care to watch it narrowly, and lopp off its more cumbrous branches, has long since suffered the weeds to grow and wind themselves about its stem, together with numberless parasitical plants, which, preying upon its branches, have caused it to degenerate and decay; and now that it is unprotected, so far

from interposing his skill in aid of the chief gardener of the vineyard, (the representative of him who planted it and gave it in charge to him,) he has altogether quitted his post, and acted in direct opposition to his will! He has not only refused to improve the soil, but he has suffered other plants to vegetate and flourish beneath its very branches, bear fruit, and obtain favour in the sight of those, who should, according to the instructions they have received, have long since trampled them under foot. In other words, if Mohammed Ali persists in his present course a little longer, (and assuredly he will,) it is very easy to perceive that he will deprive the Mohammedan religion of the only remaining props which sustain it; for by encouraging the Christians to come and settle in his dominions, the sons of Islam will become enlightened, and feel less inclined to wage war with the "infidels;" whereas according to the injunctions of their Prophet, both they and their rulers ought to persecute and destroy them whenever an opportunity occurs:—because "they desire," says the Khoran, "that ye should become infidels, as they are infidels, and that ye should be equally wicked with themselves."*

It is a great mistake, however, to suppose, as many do, that it was ever intended by the Prophet, that his followers should attack and shed the blood of the Christians from mere wantonness; and those who read the Khoran, will soon be convinced that such barbarity is deprecated in the strongest terms. The Mussulmaun is exhorted to "fight for the religion of God," but he is also expressly forbidden to be cruel; and he is told that, although it is his duty "to excite the faithful to war—perhaps God will restrain the courage of the un-

* Sale's Khoran, vol. i. p. 101.

believers, for that God is stronger than they, and *more able to punish.*"* The rigid Moslem makes little distinction between Christians and Pagans, inasmuch as *all* are equally *unbelievers*, and therefore guilty of a crime which he conceives cannot be overlooked.† Yet, notwithstanding, those who subscribe to the "true faith," are commanded to "employ their riches in defence of their religion;" they are admonished also to be *moderate*, to *refrain* from *violence*, to be *merciful*, and to *pardon;* for "God loveth the beneficent." This is indeed the whole spirit of the Khoran, and it should not be misunderstood. Many, it is true, through over zeal, ignorance, or fanaticism, have been led to misinterpret the statements of the Prophet; and there are not wanting those who have made religion a pretext for the perpetration of deeds too horrible to think of: albeit, there is no subject on which the writer of the Khoran has dwelt with more clearness and precision, throughout the whole volume than this.‡ As Christians, therefore, it cannot but be a source of

* Sale's Khoran, vol. i. p. 100. † Ib. p. 120.

‡ "Fight," says Mohammed, "for the religion of God against those who fight against you, but *transgress* not by *attacking them first;* for God loveth not the transgressors. And kill them wherever ye find them, and turn them out of that whereof they have dispossessed you! for *temptation to idolatry* is more grievous than slaughter; yet fight not against them in the holy temple, until they attack you therein: but if they attack you, slay them *there*. This shall be the reward of infidels. But if they desist, *God is gracious and merciful*. Fight therefore against them until there be no temptation *to idolatry*, and the religion be God's; but if they desist, then let there be no hostility, except against the ungodly."

"Contribute *out of your substance* toward the defence of the religion of God, and throw not *yourselves* with your own hands into perdition; and *do good, for God loveth those who do good.* §

In another place also we read that "God purposed to make known the truth in his words, and to cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers; that he might verify the truth, and destroy falsehood, although the wicked were averse thereunto. Also, when the Lord spake unto the Angels, saying, Verily, I am with you: wherefore confirm those who believe. I will cast a dread into the

§ Sale's Khoran, vol. i. p. 32.

great delight to us, whilst pausing upon the ramparts, and contemplating this beautiful scene, (which brings to our recollection the leading events of so many different ages,) to know that desirable alterations are taking place. We deeply lament the sufferings which individuals are compelled to endure in consequence of the despotic measures adopted, especially as they are uncalled for; but we rejoice at the prospect of speedy and advantageous results.

Nobody could do otherwise than approve of the Pascha's conduct, if he would show some mercy towards the people, and not attempt to accomplish *all at once*. The same good would then be effected; the

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hearts of the unbelievers. Therefore strike off *their* heads, and strike off all the ends of their *fingers*."*

"This," Mr Sale remarks, "is the punishment expressly assigned the enemies of the Mohammedan religion; though the Moslems did not inflict it on the prisoners they took at Bedr, for which they are reprehended in this chapter."†

The Khoran continues, "Oh true believers, when ye meet the unbelievers *marching in great numbers against you*, turn not your backs unto them; for whoso shall turn his back unto them on that day, unless he turneth aside to fight, or retreateth to *another* party *of the faithful*, shall draw on himself the indignation of God," &c. &c.‡ It is supposed by Mr. Sale, that by the expressions last quoted, "God designed to exalt his true religion by *extirpating its adversaries;*" but so sanguinary an idea is better suited to the taste of the *Prophet*, than the Divine Being; and I should consider this like many similar passages in the Old Testament, where judgment is denounced against certain individuals, and punishments threatened to be inflicted upon those who wilfully transgress the commands of their Maker; but not that it was intended man should kill his fellow with impunity: though it would certainly seem, if we take into account the various atrocious acts that have been committed on the plea of religion, against the Christians, that this passage has at times been similarly interpreted, and acted upon by the natives, who thought, or chose to let it appear, that by destroying a Christian *dog*, they were rendering God service; and hence the awful massacres that have occurred in the Archipelago and other places, upon the unfortunate Greeks, the Jews, and all who refused to embrace the religion of the Prophet: for such would be without distinction, denominated "infidels—eaters of the unclean beast—the accursed of the earth!" &c.

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* Sale's Khoran, vol. i. p. 202.

† Sale's Khoran, vol. i. p. 203. note.

‡ Ib. vol. i. p. 202.

work of civilization would proceed more surely; and the Viceroy himself would be raised to the highest pinnacle of glory, as the founder of a new dynasty of kings, and as a dispenser of blessings to mankind! Could he be induced to act on *something* like principle, and (imitating the example of a Bedoueen chief) prove himself truly the father of his people,—we would gladly overlook his faults, and acknowledge him a great man. But as long as he is stimulated by ambition, and we continue to be eye-witnesses of his tyranny, we cannot do so conscientiously. I would much rather praise than condemn, but the Pascha's character is not to be admired. I am most anxious to do him justice, and I freely express my conviction that much good will *ultimately* arise from his proceedings. His cruelties to the present race of Egyptians are nothing in comparison of the benefits which will accrue to their posterity,—as well as to the neighbouring nations, nearly all of which are now in pagan darkness. The thought is pleasing;—I can foresee that he is preparing the way for mighty changes in the kingdoms of the eastern world. Striving for his own aggrandizement, he has been a scourge to many in his generation; but he is nevertheless, an insignificant being in the eyes of that God who disposes the events of the earth. But out of evil will proceed good:—many things have yet to be fulfilled; and Mohammed Ali may be regarded as the chief pioneer who is clearing away the main obstacles to the perfection of the Almighty's beneficent designs.*

There is not a finer people any where to be met with, taking them all in all, than the Arabs. They are easily conciliated, and only require to be encouraged

* The nineteenth and thirty-fifth Chapters of Isaiah, seem to apply here as in time past.

and instructed. Give them a just and wise government, and they may be moulded to any thing.

Almost all the important changes which have latterly been effected in Egypt, are associated more or less, with an individual whose exertions have been so great, that they deserve to be commemorated by every traveller. To the day of his death, he employed his best energies in the Pascha's service.

Mohammed Ali and his agents, may not inaptly be compared to a complicated piece of machinery. The several parts we may suppose to consist of those Europeans who hold responsible situations. As long as they are kept in order, and act simultaneously, the machine, or in other words, the tremendous undertakings of the Viceroy, may work well, but no longer! The individual to whom I have alluded, was one of the main springs which moved the whole. He superintended nearly all the proceedings at the citadel, he had the entire management of the iron works, the foundry, the boring of cannon, the various steam-engines and apparatus, the engineering department, &c. &c.; and the operations of the rail-road then attempting to be formed, but which has since proved a failure, were to be placed solely under his direction. I think I have mentioned quite enough to show that his appointment was no sinecure, and that to acquit himself with only tolerable success, required a very considerable share of talent and assiduity; especially when assisted by such a motley group of subordinates as were placed at his disposal! Those who have been in Egypt will have already perceived that the subject of this eulogy is Mr. Thomas Galloway. During a long residence among the Arabs, he had made himself acquainted with their language, manners, and usages;—

and as some earnest of the estimation in which he was held by the Pascha, he was exalted to the high dignity of Bey! (prince). To Mr. Thomas Galloway, therefore, we may attribute a great deal of the success of Mohammed Ali's schemes; and whatever good may hereafter accrue to mankind in consequence of the bold measures of an individual who has played so conspicuous a part in the history of the world, must be referred in a great degree, to the talents and mental energy of that gentleman. No one who visits the citadel can be otherwise than delighted;—few persons are prepared to witness such important and extensive operations. If any man might be expected to succeed in difficult undertakings, it is the Pascha of Egypt. He has all the desire to do it, and to attempt much more than he does;—for whatever is represented to him as advantageous or useful, he would immediately adopt, without considering how he is to obtain the means. He seems to forget that civilization and power are plants of slow growth, and that in Egypt, they are only just now beginning to sprout. Whenever he hears of any thing that is new to him, he strives to adopt it; and let it be what it may, it must be done *directly:* shutting his eyes to the facts that many of the schemes which he desires to introduce, are incompatible with his resources; and that even in Europe, they have been years in being brought about. Such, however, is his ardour, and such is his extraordinary thirst for improvement and novelty, that he admits of no check. Like Napoleon, when he commenced his campaign in Russia, he will hear of no denial, nor will he be told that any thing to him is *impossible!* Ambition is his prevailing passion, and it has led him to commit many atrocious acts. Whether his Turkish

education may justify or palliate them, I leave others to decide. As to the swarms of French, Italians, Greeks, Maltese, and Levantines that he employs, with very few exceptions (unless we limit our enquiry to labourers and mechanics) they are, it must be confessed, of comparatively little use to him; and certainly many of those who have crept into office, and by effrontery or some lucky chance, rather than merit, have been elevated to posts of honour, are persons that he would be much better without, being men of low character, and grovelling ideas.

How all the sharp-featured, needy looking men, that we see lounging about the Frank quarter, contrive to live, is a problem not easily solved. Some of them are not recognized by the Pascha, and he is always in arrears with those that are;—yet they appear gay, careless, and dissipated. Europeans have certainly nothing to thank them for,—for it is from such as these that the supercilious Mussulmauns form their estimate of the Christian character. They take it for granted that all Christians are alike; and as they know that the members of the Greek, Romish, and Armenian churches, admit statues and pictures within the walls of their sacred edifices, which is contrary to the Mohammedan law, they set us down at once for *idolaters;* and we are consequently an abomination in their eyes. They detest the sight of a hat and the sound of a bell, because they are immediately reminded of Christianity. The mass of the people have no idea that, as among Mohammedans, so among Christians, there are different sects and nations. They are strictly enjoined to abjure and contend against any thing that savours of idolatry. So particular are they on this point, that they disapprove of pictures altogether, and

think it a sin to have their portrait taken; as, according to the Mosaic dispensation, (from which the Khoran was chiefly compiled,) it is a transgression for man "to make unto himself the likeness of any thing that is in Heaven above, or upon the earth beneath," which saying they take in its most literal sense; for they do not even put a figure-head to their ships, unless it be the sun, (an instance of which I once saw,) and which, I suppose, like the ancient Egyptians, they may regard as the "great vivifying principle," the "author of the universe,—the Deity!"

Very numerous passages of the Khoran might be adduced in illustration of the Moslem creed: there are some which it may not be improper to allude to in this place; for they not only apply to the subject under consideration, but they comprise in a few words certain of those excellent points of doctrine which are common to Christianity and Mohammedanism. There is, for instance, an exhortation to faith, prayer, and zeal in the cause of religion; patience, temperance, firmness. We are reminded of our own unworthiness, and of our dependence on the Providence of God. We are warned of the instability of human affairs, the uncertainty of life, the certainty of death, and we are assured that there is a future state of reward and punishment.

Few persons in Europe have a correct or unprejudiced idea of the Mussulmaun faith; and I trust I shall be excused for introducing the accompanying extract in a work of this kind.* Every one should read the Khoran, and we are greatly indebted to Mr. Sale for

* "Kill the idolaters wheresoever ye shall find them, and take them prisoners, and besiege them, and lay wait for them in every convenient place. If any of the idolaters shall demand protection, of thee, *grant him protection*, that he may hear the word of God; and afterwards let him reach the place of his security.

his excellent translation of it. I merely wish to draw the attention of Christians to the subject, and to let

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This *shalt thou do*, because they are people which know not the *excellency of the religion thou preachest*."

"God is well acquainted with that which ye do. It is not *fitting* that the idolaters should visit the temples of God, being witnesses against their own souls of their infidelity. The works of these *men* are vain, they shall remain in hell-fire for ever. But he only shall visit the temples of God who believeth in God, and the last day, and is constant at prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and feareth God alone!" &c.*

"The likeness of those who take other *patrons* besides God, is as the likeness of the spider, which maketh herself a house; but the weakest of *all* houses, surely, is the house of a spider: if they knew *this*. Moreover, God knoweth what things they invoke besides him; and He is the mighty and wise. Be constant in prayer, for prayer preserveth a man from filthy crimes, and from that which is blameable: and the remembering of God is surely a most important duty. God knoweth that which ye do," &c. "Every soul shall taste death; afterwards he shall return unto us; and as for those who shall have believed and wrought righteousness, we will surely lodge them in the higher apartment of Paradise." "How excellent will be the reward of the workers of *righteousness*, who persevere with patience, and put their trust in the Lord! How many beasts are there which provide not their food! It is God that provideth food for them and for you; and He both heareth and knoweth. Verily if thou ask the Meccans *who* hath created the heavens and the earth, and *who* hath obliged the sun and the moon to *serve in their courses?* they will answer—"God!" How therefore do *they* lie in *acknowledging of other Gods?* God maketh abundant provision for such of his servants as he pleaseth: and is sparing unto him, *if he pleaseth*: for God knoweth all things. Verily, if thou ask them, *who* sendeth rain from heaven, and thereby quickeneth the earth, after it hath been dead? they will answer, "God,"—and say, "God be praised!" But the greater part of them do not understand. This present life is no other than a toy, and a plaything; but the future mansion *of paradise* is life indeed: if they knew *this, they would not prefer the former to the latter*. When they sail in a ship, they call upon God sincerely, exhibiting unto him the *true* religion: but when he bringeth them safe to land, behold, they return to their idolatry: to show themselves ungrateful for that which we have bestowed on them, and that they may enjoy *the delights of this life*; but they shall hereafter know *the issue*. Do they not see that we have made *the territory of Mecca* an inviolable and secure *asylum*, when men are spoiled *in the countries* round about them? Do they therefore believe in that which is vain, and acknowledge not the goodness of God? But who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against God, or denieth the truth, when it hath come unto him? Is there not in hell an abode for the unbelievers? Whoever do their utmost endeavour to promote our true religion, we will direct them into our ways; for God is with the righteous."†

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* Sale's Khoran, vol. ii. pp. 2. 3. 4.

† Ib. vol. ii. chap. 30. p. 255. 6, 7, 8.

them see that the "Bible of the East" is a book which may be read without contamination. It will appear from the specimens I have selected, that its pages contain much that is good; and it would be well if those who take it for their guide, would consistently adhere to the principles it inculcates: but I am sorry to say, their meaning is often perverted, and the blessings which the Khoran promises are abused or disregarded. There are nevertheless, many very excellent and truly pious men among Mohammedans. They worship the same God as we do, although they deny Christ; but they equally abhor idolatry and irreligion. They set us a good example in many things, and are, upon the whole, a simple and well-meaning people. They are, it is true, illiterate and rude; consequently stubborn, superstitious, narrow-minded, and not unfrequently fanatical. Their passions are strong, but they are for the most part, conscientious, and guided by the dictates of reason; however mistaken they may be in their views. They are generally hospitable, and scrupulously keep their word; they exercise a mutual confidence, and are just and honorable in all their dealings: but their intercourse with the world is contracted, and they are ignorant of the blessings of a fostering government. Under the idea therefore of enjoying life, and stimulated by the influence of a glowing climate, (especially if they have wealth and power,) they give themselves up to luxury and excess; and not having any intellectual resource, they are constantly in search of new pleasures, some of which, if they do not lead to strife and bloodshed, afford but a temporary gratification, and leave behind them apathy and discontent.

Notwithstanding so many improvements are taking

place in Egypt, those whose destiny it is to remain in the remoter provinces are very little altered since the time of Norden, Burckhardt, and other travellers: the light of civilization can hardly be said to have dawned upon them; indeed, such is the intellectual darkness which pervades the land, that there is scarcely an individual to be found who has anything like a correct idea of Europeans. Of the English they have seen very little; and this is the case even in Lower Egypt. They have chiefly been thrown in the way of French and Italians, who, they are well aware, have images and pictures in their churches; from which they conclude that the "Nisrani,"* or "Porci,"† (as the Christians are sometimes called) are a set of base idolaters — an unclean, dangerous, and wicked people, that "fear not God"—unbelievers—"accursed dogs," that have "no souls," and for whom there is neither provision in heaven nor on earth—"an unsainted and defiled race," that are for ever excluded from the "joys of Paradise." But it is somewhat pleasing to find that the more they *do* see of us, the more they are prepossessed in our favour; for they are beginning to find out that there *is* a difference between Protestants and Roman Catholics—Englishmen and Frenchmen, Italians, and Maltese; and that, although we are all "unbelievers" alike, still the English have no images in their churches, and we have got into their good books in consequence; besides, they say we are good sailors, and that we make the best guns and knives, broadcloth, and clocks, and telescopes, and they love us for all these good things, especially as we treat them kindly, and they now begin to understand us.‡

* Nazarines. † Hogs.

‡ The corvette "Dido," when lying off the Alexandrian coast, sent a boat ashore at Ramli for a supply of dates, and obtained a cargo of them without

The late campaign in Syria, and the bombardment of Acre by the British Admirals, have also raised us not a little in their estimation. Some good-natured friend had whispered into the ear of their understanding that England is a very "little place," a mere "speck" in the midst of the sea, and they were disposed to think lightly of us. Their opinion is now changed, and they prefer us to the French; although the vivacity of our neighbours is more in accordance with their taste than English gravity, and there is nothing in our plain, straight forward dealings, at all calculated to ingratiate a lively set of men like the Arabs. People who inhabit an immense territory, and have seldom an opportunity of seeing the ocean, have very little conception of a country like Great Britain, and they are apt to think disparagingly of islanders. When I was in Upper Egypt, I was told that the English were *nobody*, for that they lived upon an island, and must therefore get their living by "catching fish!"—that it was impossible they could be a great nation; for that "Elephantina" was an island, and the people who lived *there* were *nothing!* This is a very original idea certainly; for Elephantina is a miserable, ruinous place indeed—an island, to be sure, of about *a mile* in circumference! It is situated on the Nubian frontier, and forms a part of the Egyptian boundary. Its

being perceived by the camp in the neighbourhood. The poor Fellaheen peasantry gave themselves up for lost, and hastened to cut down their fruit to satisfy the mandates of the "Giaours," on the principle of Mrs. Hardcastle. "Take all we have, good Mr. Highwayman, but spare our lives!" We may easily then judge of their astonishment, when the blue jackets pulled out their silver, and clubbed together to pay them half-a-dollar a bunch for what they had taken—about twice as much as they would have been sold for in the market! They since continually enquire, "When will the English come again? When will they *all* come? There are plenty more dates for them."—Extract of a Letter from the Mediterranean.

inhabitants are very wretched, tattoo their faces, wear rings in their noses, and run about naked! *Of course* every island is like Elephantina, and we have therefore a bright specimen afforded us of the natives of poor old England!* The geographical knowledge of the Egyptians and other Asiatics is very scanty; comparatively few are able to understand what Europe is, or where it is; and how should it be otherwise, when they have never been instructed? We cannot then be surprised if they, and other semi-barbarous nations who inhabit regions remote from the sea, and enjoy a very limited intercourse with Europeans, should form a ridiculous estimate of our character.

Scattered through the works of that delightful writer, Mr. Morier (whose delineations of character are surpassed by none) we find much information on this subject. He has well pourtrayed the contempt in which the Persians profess to hold the Franks, and he has done it in such a quaint and amusing way, that no doubt many persons imagine it is intended as a burlesque; but this is not the case: he has preserved the principal facts of history, and given ample proof of his powers of observation. His account is consistent with the feeling which very generally prevails in the East respecting Europeans, who are regarded as an unclean, rebellious people, spread over an extensive territory denominated "Frangistan," or, as the Chinese imagined, wandering like the Dutch, always on the sea, without any territory at all! His statements have been confirmed by Fraser and others, from whose writings we may also derive considerable amusement and in-

* Various similar instances came under my observation, in the course of my travels, both in Turkey, Asia Minor, and Palestine; and I found that even some of the authorities who might be expected to be more enlightened, entertained of Europeans the most absurd and extravagant notions.

struction.* It will scarcely be supposed by the people of this country, that in Persia or in Egypt any such perfect ignorance can exist; but so it is, and I am the more anxious to impress this subject on the minds of my readers, because it serves to illustrate how very little the European character is understood in the East; and how easy it would be to fan the expiring embers of prejudice into a flame, and to rekindle the brand of animosity, if it formed a part of the Persian or Egyptian policy to excite an ill feeling against us.

This is not a matter of mere speculation, for the first step to improvement is the removal of prejudice. But there is no nation on the face of the earth which has so favourable an opportunity of enlightening mankind as the English, because there is no nation whose commercial intercourse is so great, and which understands the art of colonizing so well. As long as any unkind feeling exists between us and the people we wish to improve, any attempt to inculcate new doctrines would clearly fail, the mind not being prepared to receive instruction. The Chinese, for instance, consider themselves superior to every nation under the sun, and will not listen to us. The Persians do the same, yet they are allowed to be the politest of all Asiatics: they are fond of literature for its own sake, but possess only a scanty store of learning. The diffusion of knowledge by the discovery of the art of printing seems to have been in part withheld from the inhabitants of Asia, which is somewhat surprising, since India has been so long in the hands of the English. Their writings consist chiefly, if not entirely,

* See "Zorab, the Hostage," "Had'gj Baba, at home and abroad," "Ayesha," &c. by Morier. Also "The Khan's Tale of a Caravanserai," "The Kuzzilbash," "The Persian Adventurer," and "Travels in Persia," by Fraser.

of poesy and other works of imagination, the moral of which is, however, for the most part good.

But concerning the country of the Franks, our habits, institutions, and laws, they betray the most profound ignorance, and evidently entertain the most crude and ludicrous ideas. Of course they profess for us the greatest possible contempt; and, until we are raised in their estimation, it is not to be supposed that they will attend to that which we may have to communicate, either in regard to religion or anything else. The same may be said of the Egyptians, and the natives of central Africa; although these are more humble in their manner, a little more taciturn, and certainly more tractable and more respectful than their boasting, adulatory neighbours, the Persians.*

* The expressions in common use among these extraordinary people relative to the Franks, when brought together, form a very curious and amusing document; one which is not entirely opposed to the notions entertained by a considerable portion of the Egyptians in the present day. The Persian "sages" inform us, in their wisdom, that "Frangistan" is a large country, governed by several kings, and consisting of various tribes, which shave their chins, wear hats and tight clothes, drink wine, eat pork, worship images, and do not believe in Mohammed;—that they are "less than an ounce of dust" beneath the feet of the "Asylum of the Universe;"—that their "dogs of Ambassadors" create much pollution, and come to rub their foreheads against the threshold of the Imperial gate; but that, "what with their unbidden legs, their coats cut to the quick, their unbearded chins, and unwhiskered lips, they look like *birds moulting, or diseased apes!*" Moreover, that they are all "dogs and vermin," sprung from the same dunghill, and that they will assuredly burn hereafter in one common furnace. That the "Nemsé Giaour" (the Austrian Infidel) is a quiet, smoking race, which send the Persians cloth, steel, and glass-ware; and that they are the most ancient race of the unbelievers. That the Muscovites are an unclean and accursed generation; that they are governed by men and women by turns; that they put their sovereigns to death when they please; and that one end of their country is lost in eternal snows, whilst the other is burnt up with the heat. That the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italians are nothing *even in Frangistan;* and that the Dutch, Danes, and Swedes, are very little;—that the former have always been known by their dollars and dervishes (monks or priests), who pay sums of money into the treasury for the privilege of building churches (or rather convents), and ringing bells;—that the Papa (or Pope) is their Khâliphe, and lives in Italy; but that, besides the Papa, there was another Khâliphe in Frangistan, who, they say, was very mighty, being a "two-edged sword," and a

Such was the prejudice that existed against Europeans in the time of Norden, that no traveller could ascend the Nile without being exposed to every insult, and very often obliged to defend himself *vi et armis*. Now, being more accustomed to see strangers, so far from offering any molestation, they would do anything to oblige us, because we pay them for their services, and treat them kindly, which the Turks and authorities do not. Nevertheless, in the remoter districts, they have not yet learned to understand us. Having very little enjoyment themselves, they wonder what we come there for, and what inducement there can be for those who seem to possess all they want, to go turning over dust and rubbish, and collecting stones and figures! Accordingly they jump to the conclusion that we are

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" killer of lions;" that he was called " Bonou Poort," and that *he* was the father of all the infidels;—that he was so much feared, that at the sound of his name every man's liver would drop, and his heart-strings crack; for that he used to take off more heads in a week than any other chief in a year;—that he was a very " Shaitan" in battle, and that he once came to fight against the true believers; but that the strength of his arm was taken away, and his brain shrivelled up beneath the sword of " Islam," the moment the standard of the Prophet was raised; and that the "dibs"† came and picked the bones of all the dogs' sons that came with him! That as to the " Shah Ingliz," *he* holds only an imaginary power, and that a common Agah in Persia has more at his command; for that he dare not bastinado a vizier, much less cut off his ears, or put him to death. Moreover, that there are houses in England full of madmen, who quarrel and fight, and that nothing is done until they have wrangled about it;—that all the people have red hair and blue eyes; that they make good broad cloth, watches, arms, gunpowder, telescopes, and penknives; that they live on an *island* all the year round, and have no " Kishlak," or warm region, to migrate to in the winter; that, being on an island, there is often a scarcity of corn, so they build ships, and go to other countries to fetch food; that they are fond of pork and wine, and, being always surrounded by water, eat much fish; that many of them live in their ships, and are all good sailors; that they neither grow rice nor tobacco; that they are without horses, and never feel the heat of the sun; in order that they may be fed and clothed, however, that they regularly send ambassadors to pay the respect which is due as to a superior, and to worship at the throne of the " King of Kings!"—Morier, Fraser, &c.

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† Hyænas.

constantly groping after treasure, and must be very avaricious and idolatrous; and (as they never *see* us pray) that we have no God!—that "Issa Ben Mariam,"* of whom they hear so much, is only called a Prophet because he protected us from our enemies, and was a good man; but that we carry away all the images we can get, to put in our public places and houses of refuge, to keep away the "evil eye," and to worship in the hour of need, when there is a scarcity of food, during the prevalence of disease, and when we make war with other "tribes." Accustomed to be ruled with a rod of iron, and having never passed the boundary of their own territory, they naturally judge others by themselves; and they think that nobody would come all the way from "Frangistan" to a ruinous country like theirs, which abounds in misery, unless he had some very important object in view, and they therefore set their wits at work to devise what it can be that tempts us. They believe that gold grows in "Frangistan," and that on this account the Pascha likes to keep friends with the infidels. They follow us wherever we go, asking for "fluss" (money), and "backscheesh" (a present). Very little satisfies them for the time; but they think they have only to ask and have; and if they go away, they do not forget to send their neighbours and friends. They make hard bargains, and think it no sin to ask as high a price as they can get, though it be three times as much as the thing is worth. In this respect, however, the chances are equal; and if we are cheated, it is with open eyes. Poor fellows! they work very hard, and if well treated, are very civil. They deserve every "parah" they get, for it is dearly earned; and I never could find it in my

* Our Saviour.

heart to deny them a request when it was not *very, very* exorbitant, especially the donkey boys; for to the traveller there is not a more useful set of people in the country, especially in Cairo and Alexandria. Whatever we do, wherever we go, they are in request: we could not get on at all without them. They are sure to find out the residence of a Frank, and as sure to be at hand when needed. They watch his motions, and like the secret police of Austria, can generally tell where he is to be found, which are his favourite haunts, and at what hour he reached his home the previous night. They are to be seen lurking about the corners of the streets in parties, with their ragged, jaded, scraggy looking animals, waiting for a job. They are themselves as ragged, wretched, and emaciated; and it is truly wonderful how they are able to support the fatigue which they are destined to go through. They live but sparingly, and are at the call of every one, whether Infidel, Turk, or Jew. They are constantly on the alert, watch the looks of every passer-by, and at the smallest indication of assent, drag their meagre-looking beasts to the spot, vociferating all the way, abusing each other, scrambling to arrive first, and sounding the praise of these most unfortunate of all the brute creation,—animals which, to judge by appearances, would hardly have strength to transport themselves into the adjoining street, and therefore little calculated to bear the burden of a full-grown Turk, to say nothing of a saddle and trappings weighing 25 lbs.! It is easy to perceive that neither man nor beast has more rest or more to eat than he knows what to do with. Some bread, a few dates, a piece of gourd or melon, some "youart" (curd), and a little rice occasionally, constitute the food of the one;

and a bundle of chopped straw, and a few beans, the support of the other. Both sleep in the open air, or in a miserable shed surrounded by filth and rubbish. I have already described the manner of their proceeding, the hurried, uncertain course of their existence, and the singular vivacity with which they *wriggle* their way along the crowded streets, threading the busy multitude, apparently without fatigue to either party. These boys must run several miles in the course of a few hours, and their very looks betray the nature of their avocation. The countenance is always haggard, pale, and anxious, their breathing hurried, their whole visage and demeanour sharp and restless. As we might expect, they shorten their days, and very many of them die of diseased heart. They are not pre-disposed to consumption; for this is a disease that is seldom to be met with in Egypt; nor is asthma so frequent in its occurrence as we might imagine *à priori* that it would be: still it occurs, and, I have no doubt, is brought on in these youths by violent exercise, and frequent exposure to the heavy dews of the night. But "use is second nature;" and if they lived better, they would probably not only be unable to perform their work, but they would be rendered more susceptible of disease. They are generally satisfied with three or four piastres a-day, and think themselves well paid. Many do not give them half that sum, and others take their donkeys by force, especially the soldiers and "jacks in office," and give them nothing, except, perhaps, a severe beating. No wonder, then, that they prefer the service of a Frank, and particularly of an Englishman, who still preserves his character for liberality, even in Egypt.

We have only to keep in mind the narrowness and

crowded condition of the streets, to understand that no other animal is so well calculated for a *vehicle* of transportation as the ass. He takes up less room than the camel or the horse; he is therefore more easily managed, and he is more submissive. He is pretty quick in his movements, receiving many knocks;—

> "For ragged troops of boys and girls
> Do pellow him with stones;
> With clubs, and whips, and many nips,
> They part his skin from 's bones."*

The ass of L'Hassa in Arabia is perhaps the most celebrated breed. He is of large growth, and very powerful: he is patient of fatigue, docile and sagacious, and, considering the nature of his race, very fleet. I saw some very fine specimens, and longed to be able to transport some to England.†

* These lines refer to a practice which was at one time by no means uncommon, even in this country. Impressed with the idea that nature had furnished the ass with a much thicker covering than other animals, which rendered him insensible to ordinary stripes, people had recourse to various cruel contrivances, and hesitated not, it is said, to indulge their malicious propensities by "lifting up a part of his upper garment." In recording this fact, the writer observes, "I have often longed to see one of these refiners in discipline himself at the cart's tail, with just such a convenient spot laid bare to the tender mercies of the whipster." When we speak of the cruelties of the East, it is only *just* to record our own. I have myself witnessed this very practice on more than one occasion in Ireland; and the atrocities that are committed by the car-men between Dublin and the "Rock," are notorious to all who have visited the country, yet no one interferes to prevent them.

† In a curious but learned document, entitled, "The Noblenesse of the Asse," published in 1595, bearing merely the Author's initials, "A. B.," this invaluable servant of man is quaintly described, aptly illustrating the condition of this patient little animal in Egypt.

"The asse," he observes, "refuseth no burden: he goes whither he is sent, without contradiction. He lifts not his foot against any one; he bytes not; he is not fugitive, nor malicious affected. He doth all things in good sort, and to *his* liking that hath cause to employ him. If strokes be given him, he cares not for them, and as our modern poet singeth,

> "Thou wouldst (perhaps) he should become thy foe,
> And to that end dost beat him many times:
> He cares not for himselfe—much less thy blow!"

The name of this *modern* poet is unknown.

We availed ourselves, on the following morning, of the services of some of these useful little animals; and accompanied by Osman Effendi, we set out at an early hour for Matarieh, the site of Heliopolis, the City of the Sun, or, as it is termed in the Scriptures, "On."* The idols of Mnevis have long since perished with their deluded votaries;† but the spot on which they stood is contemplated in the present day with no ordinary feelings, being associated with events which our infant lips have been taught to lisp, and of which we have since been accustomed to read with peculiar satisfaction. Who has not heard of Joseph and his brethren, Potiphar, and the Pharaohs? Who has not read of the Shepherd Kings, their encampments, and the Land of Goshen?‡

This ancient city was situated in the midst of a rich and fertile country. It must have covered a great deal of ground; and if we suppose the buildings to have extended towards Cairo, it would not be very far from the Nile,—if even a branch of the river did not flow through it, which I think very likely to have been the case. We cannot judge of its situation by what we now see. It has shared the common fate of the other idolatrous cities of Egypt. Not a vestige remains of its former magnificence, if we except one solitary monument which has been left, as it were, to note the departure of Egypt's glory, and to commemorate this ancient seat of learning, the favorite dwelling-place of the philosophers who taught our fathers wisdom, and to whose labours we are indebted for

* Genesis, xli. 45.

† The inhabitants worshipped a bull called "Mnevis," with the same ceremonies as the "Apis" of Memphis.

‡ Genesis, xlvii.

many excellent works which relate to the history of the early ages.

It was here that Plato and Pythagoras, Herodotus, Aristotle, and many others, came to study; and here the gorgeous palace of the king once stood, when Jacob was commanded to be brought into the royal presence, and when he was told to select a portion of land for his inheritance.*

There appears to be no doubt, from the evidence which has been adduced from various writings, both sacred and profane, that the district of Heliopolis, or the kingdom of "On," was bordering on the famous Land of Goshen,—in those days, "the best of all the land of Egypt," "*even* the land of Rameses."

At this remote period, "On" was the seat of government, and it was not until the building of Memphis that it began to decay. It then rapidly dwindled down to nothing; and now, as if to mock the vanity of kings and heroes, and to remind us of the instability of all human greatness, one well-proportioned, beautiful Obelis'que is the only object which has withstood the devastating hand of man.

It is about sixty-five feet in height, and is covered with hieroglyphics: its breadth at the base, is six feet; it is formed of one single piece of red granite:—its façades do not differ, and it is considered one of the *oldest* monuments in Egypt. Its hieroglyphics are not so well cut as some others. Diodorus Siculus mentions that Sesostris set up two Obelis'ques there, which were 120 cubits (180 feet) high, and 8 broad, i. e. twelve feet; and Pliny assures us that Sochis, and Rameses who was the contemporary of Priam, each erected four:—that those of Sochis were 48 cubits,

* Genesis, xlvii.

(72 feet,) and that the others were about 40 cubits high, i. e. 60 feet. The Obelis'que which now remains, is thought to be one of those put up by Sochis; and supposing Sochis to be identical with Asychis, mentioned by Herodotus, and the Osochon of the twenty-first dynasty (Tanite) of Manetho, it must have been erected, we are told, about "1020 years before the Christian era." If, however, we refer it to the time of Sesostris, it would carry us 450 years further back. There was once an avenue of sphynges leading possibly to the temple of the sun; some of their fragments were still to be seen in the time of Pococke, and they had been previously described by Strabo, who visited Heliopolis thirty years before Christ. It is probable that if excavations were made here, much information might be obtained; and according to the observations of Pococke, the soil has not accumulated to more than seven-and-a-half or eight feet. Dr. Richardson speaks of a colossal figure similar to that of Memnon at Thebes, which is of red, quartzy sand-stone. We saw some ruinous masses lying about in different directions, and a quantity of sun-dried bricks, evidently more modern than the rest; but we observed nothing like a temple, or tombs. Matarieh is the only modern village, it is close to the Obelis'que, and borders on the desert; it is about four miles and a half N.E. of Cairo. The ride thither is one of considerable interest.

Shortly after passing the gates of Cairo, we traversed one of the great cemeteries. The tombs are precisely such as are described in the Scriptures: and being nearly all built of white stone, they retain their freshness, and cleanly appearance. Our Saviour it will be recollected, in more than one place, speaks of a "whited sepulchre." This burial ground is destitute

of trees; but the graves, which are chiefly those of ordinary individuals, were kept in good order, and some of them looked very picturesque. Leaving the Mokattam to the right, we directed our course along a barren, sandy plain, whose melancholy aspect was quite in character with the solemn depositories of the dead. In traversing this arid spot, we saw a great many cranes and vultures, and also swallows. After a time, the view became much more agreeable to the eye, and the distance began to shorten; for we passed through groves of sycamore and tamarisk, (i. e., the manna tree of the Desert,) and elegant acacias. We saw also the citron, the lime-tree, the rhamnus, the lotus, the orange, the date, and numerous other trees and shrubs, which, indigenous to the soil, brought forth abundantly, and altogether presented a scene of such luxuriance, and—to us at that time—of novelty, that we felt, as it were, transported to a new world. The atmosphere was impregnated with the most fragrant and refreshing odours; and we fancied ourselves in the midst of a little paradise, isolated from the bustle of life, yet surrounded by a parched and gloomy wilderness;—for if we looked beyond the immediate spot, the illusion was destroyed: the eye grew weary, and longed for something green to rest upon, but found none. When, however, we beheld the grass and beautiful little wild flowers at our feet, forming a richly variegated carpet, and saw the water gently trickling onwards, bringing new life to the vegetation, we were filled with delight; and, reflecting that the place where we then were, had been traversed by the Patriarchs,—that we stood perhaps on the very spot where the Hebrew shepherds once pitched their tents under the auspices of Joseph, a kind and merciful

governor; and that we were approaching also the very tree to which, it is said, the Virgin Mother brought the infant Saviour, to elude the subtle vigilance of Herod; I was conscious of feelings which it is not easy to describe,—such, that it falls to the lot of those only to experience, who come under the influence of the same powerful associations.

Here I saw the cotton plant growing for the first time. It is a truly beautiful shrub, with a red stem and branches, delicately contrasted with the soft green colour of its leaves, and the yellow tint of its flower, which is bell-shaped, and has a small red spot on its inside. It is a plant which requires a great deal of sun, and should be well watered. I am not aware that there is any great deal of it cultivated on this spot, as it is, I should imagine, too far from the Nile.

> "The nymph, Gossypia,* treads the *velvet* sod,
> And warms with rosy smiles the *watery* God."

There appears, however, to be no want of water in this district, and the land is well irrigated, the water being led into artificial channels by means of wheels worked by oxen, and in the old fashioned way, as seen in all parts of the East,—by means of a bucket suspended by a rope from the end of a slightly curved beam, which rests unequally on the top of a stem or pole fixed in the earth, the other end of the beam having a heavy stone or a quantity of clay attached to it, by which contrivance, the bucket may be lowered and raised at pleasure, by one individual and without much labour. A little before we reached Matarieh, we passed the celebrated well, called "Ain Shemss,"—the fountain of the sun,—and connected with which, there is a superstitious legend of the Roman Catholics, who

* The cotton plant. See Darwin's Loves of the Plants, vol. ii. p. 81. *note.*

D'Holt Yates del.

THE TREE OF THE MADONNA.
Near Cairo

assert that "it appeared *suddenly* when the Holy Family visited Egypt;" and it is situated close to the sequestered spot where, as I have stated, Joseph and Mary thought it prudent to conceal the infant Jesus. In order to visit this well, we turned a little out of the beaten track, and entered a tolerably thick plantation on the right, where, in the midst of date-trees, citrons, &c., we reclined beneath a venerable sycamore, supposed to be the identical tree whose wide spreading branches afforded shelter to the holy fugitives from the parching rays of the sun. It is cut in all directions, and has been denominated the "Tree of the Madonna." Its shape is singular; it is very large, and the upper portion of it has been blown down or struck by lightning; a number of young branches grow out from the top of that which remains. It is, beyond all doubt, *very aged*, and there is nothing inconsistent in the idea that the Virgin *did* seek an asylum beneath its branches. She was as likely to choose this tree as any other, and we know very well that the sycamore sometimes lives to a most astonishing age;—it is even said "several hundred years,"—though I confess I know not who is able to make such an assertion! Close by it, is the "miraculous well"—the previous existence of which afforded perhaps the most important reasons why this spot should be selected in preference to others. Between this place, and the town of Matarieh, there are numerous corn-fields, which look rich and inviting; they extend nearly to Heliopolis, or rather I should say, the accumulations of rubbish, which with the Obelis'que, point out its original situation. The distance is not great: it is probable that the city extended in that direction, and that the inhabitants were accustomed to repair thither to draw water: it is even thought to

have derived its name from this source; and some have imagined it to be identical with the "Beth-Shemish" of the Old Testament. But the latter was in Canaan, thirty miles west of Jerusalem.* At one season of the year, the whole of this district is flooded by the Nile, and the Obelis'que may be seen rising as it were, from the midst of an immense lake; indeed it forms a very good Nilometer; a few feet above the ground there is a distinct line formed by the accumulation of the waters; it becomes, therefore, a correct indicator of the extent to which the country has been inundated, the preceding year, and the relative amount of prosperity: for the overflowing of the Nile is the greatest blessing which can possibly happen to the Egyptians, notwithstanding it does occasionally carry away a few villages. We have no reason to believe, however, that the inundations extended so high in that direction, in the days of the glory of "On." It is most probable that the waters were collected into a canal, for the convenience of the city, similar to that of "Es-Bekieh" at Cairo.

We returned home highly delighted with our excursion. It was one of the most interesting we had made; and so much was the mind engaged, that we scarcely felt the fatigue of the journey. We began to get accustomed to the heat, and to the mode of travelling.

The temperature of Cairo is generally about ten degrees of Fahrenheit higher than that of Alexandria, which may be accounted for by the sea-breezes, which seldom fail to visit the latter, every morning and evening, during ten months of the year.

In the neighbourhood of Heliopolis, the Viceroy has

* 1 Sam. vi. 9. 21.

erected barracks, and a military college. There is also a hospital, and what has been *called* a school of Medicine. I shall have occasion to speak of these by and bye. The Franks who are here employed, have watered detached portions of land bordering on the desert, and have been well rewarded for their trouble; for it is a rich loamy soil, and only required irrigation. Many little gardens have thus sprung up, where all was previously a parched, and arid wilderness. Great efforts were made to obtain a regular supply of water by boring. I am happy to say that the labour was not thrown away. Experiments have been since tried in the Desert, between Cairo and Suez, and in other parts, and in many instances, with abundant success.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BAZAARS — ORIENTAL TRADING — USURY AND OATHS—VISIT TO MOHAMMED ALI—HALL OF AUDIENCE—ADMINISTRATION OF AFFAIRS—THE COUNCIL CHAMBER—PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF THE PASCHA —HIS ORIGIN AND HISTORY; HABITS AND ATTACHMENTS—IMPARTIAL CONSIDERATION OF HIS LIFE—SCHEMES ADOPTED FOR HIS DESTRUCTION—ANECDOTES IN ILLUSTRATION—MASSACRE OF THE MAMLÛKS AND JANIZARIES—BENEFITS ARISING THEREFROM — THE VICEROY'S RELATIONS WITH TURKEY—HIS TALENTS AS A DIPLOMATIST; AND ASSERTION OF HIS INDEPENDENCE—REMONSTRANCE OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS—TREACHERY OF THE OTTOMAN ADMIRAL, ETC.

THE bazaars of Cairo do not differ from those of every other large town in the East; they are spacious, well watered, and covered with canvass, in order to keep off the dust and the sun's rays, or the heat would be intolerable:* besides, the merchants often expose at their stalls, goods of considerable value, and the spot is usually one of great bustle; the whole place is in motion; people of all ranks and professions are passing and repassing all day long, and many beggars obstruct the way. The most noisy of the groups that pass in

* The principal bazaars are the "Gho'riih," and the "Khan-Khá-leél." See Mr. Hay's illustrations of Cairo.

review before us, are the pedlars or hawkers, a set of people who get their living by buying and selling any thing they can pick up; they go the round of the bazaars in the morning, when the commotion is at its maximum; they walk at a prodigious rate, proclaiming at the very top of their voice, the qualities of their wares, some of which, they exhibit in their belt or on the shoulders; and they may generally be distinguished at some distance, holding up above the heads of the multitude a sword, a gun, or a brace of pistols. There is a distinct bazaar for each trade. I used sometimes to take my seat among the merchants as a looker-on, in one of these great thoroughfares of Cairo, and never lacked amusement. I do not know a more curious spectacle than that which this moving panorama presents; there is a constant succession of changes, incident, and character, according as the pedlar, the fakir, the Bedoueen, the tax-gatherer, the Jew, the Greek, the English gentleman, and the Frank employé, in turn appears—rapidly followed by the kavaass, the vender of sweetmeats or sherbet, the slave, the conjurer or diviner, the serpent charmer, the buffoon, and the Jack in office,—*cum multis aliis*. In the midst, sits the grave and thoughtful Turk, surrounded by his goods, and apparently indifferent to the passing scene,—taciturn, and, except when a customer approaches, counting his gains, and digesting his plans over a pipe; or conning the pages of his pocket Khoran:—he makes no attempt to solicit business; but should a purchaser draw near, he lays the one or the other aside, to listen to his request; he is polite and obliging, firm, but just in all his dealings: and for the most part, honest. He generally invites his patron to be seated while he finds the article he wants; and not unfrequently, sends for coffee, and offers him his pipe, with many salutations.

He is not afraid to leave his stall, although there is no other inspector or overlooker than his customer, (of whom perhaps he knows nothing,) and his brother merchants, who sit about on their boards like himself, attending to their own affairs, in their respective shops, which line the avenue on either side. When the Muezzin call the hour of prayer from the minarets, he either kneels down in a corner with his face towards the "Kebleh,"* or retires to the mos'que; leaving his goods exposed to the mercy of hundreds of passing strangers: but he is sure to find everything on his return, precisely as he left it! Should a customer want him in the mean time, his neighbour, notwithstanding he is perhaps a rival in trade, so far from enticing him to his own stores, unhesitatingly sends to fetch the other, and presents the new comer with coffee and a pipe to beguile the time. Whatever may be thought of this by our London tradesmen, I beg to assure them that in the East, this course is universally adopted; it is regarded as a point of honour: and every respectable dealer considers that by thus acting, he is doing no more for his fellow-men, than he would expect his neighbour to do for him; a generous, high-minded principle, professed indeed, by every Christian; but I fear too often disregarded in practice!

Again;—the Turks admit not of usury or oaths; a word is enough, and a bargain once struck, remains sacred. It is seldom that he suffers himself to take less than he asks, or that he asks more than he considers himself entitled to take. The Arabs are very similar in their character as merchants; but although equally honest and true to their word, they have not the same firmness; and will often be induced, by a

* Or "Kha'aba"—the shrine of the Prophet.

good story or a little *coaxing*, to alter their determination. It is perfectly delightful to see the order, and good feeling which distinguish the various classes of people that associate together in the bazaars. There appears to be no jealousy; and though each does the best, no doubt, he can for himself, the greatest harmony prevails: it is seldom that we are able to detect anything like animosity or injustice.

We dined this day with the English Consul, and went with him in the evening by appointment to the Citadel, where we were presented in due form to Mohammed Ali, the great "leviathan" of the Nile,—the "two-edged sword" of Egypt! It was dark when we set out, and the humble lanterns of the Caireens were beginning to move, as the Arab guard proceeded to the different stations. Our appearance created a great bustle; for when a person of consequence goes forth at night, his approach is signified by the blaze of a large mass of ignited combustibles (charcoal and bitumen), placed in an iron basket at the end of a rod, and carried in front of the cavalcade. Such was the case on the present occasion: we were attended by numerous servants and a couple of janizaries, the former running on foot before and around, some carrying lanterns, the rest clearing the way with their sticks. When we arrived at the palace, we entered the great square, the terraces of which are adorned with light columns and porticoes of stone. Near the chief entrance, were assembled crowds of beggars, donkey-boys, and servants holding their masters' horses, which pawed the ground, snorted, and shook their gorgeous trappings, as if in token of their conscious superiority. Here we dismounted; and ascending a flight of several steps, were straightway ushered into a spacious hall,

lofty, and paved with stone. Carpets and cushions were arranged at different parts; and on them were reclining the various officers of state with their scribes, interpreters, and other attendants, — hearing complaints, receiving reports, issuing warrants and "teskerehs" to the local authorities, and transacting government business. Every thing bore an aspect of importance; each individual looked grave; and comparatively few words were exchanged. Some conversed in private; some were signing and sealing papers, others had their ink-case before them, and were writing: — all at intervals raised the favourite t'chibouque to their lips, and sipped their coffee or sherbet; a thin atmosphere of tobacco smoke floated through the apartment; large and massive silver branches containing wax-lights were placed about upon the floor, and numerous parties arranged themselves in groups, waiting until they could obtain a hearing; a gentle murmur might be heard, but there was no noise, and every thing seemed to be conducted with the greatest order and decorum. Nevertheless, Janizaries and messengers were at hand in case their services should be required.* I cannot say that I formed a very grand idea of the administration of justice in this august assembly; as it seemed that there was, to say the least, ample opportunity for bribery; nor did it appear that there was much despatch of business.

Having waited a short time, one of the Pascha's droguemans came to announce to the Consul that His Highness was ready to receive us. Traversing a large anti-room, in which were stationed several armed offi-

* The term Janizary is still applied to these individuals; but they must not be associated with the Janizaries of Turkey, who once played so important a part in the affairs of state. In Egypt and at Constantinople the government officers or domestic guards of the chief authorities, are so called.

cials, we were immediately admitted to the royal presence. The chamber was large and square, variously ornamented, and painted in rather a rough style. It was furnished in the usual manner; and in the centre, on the floor, was a very large candelabrum of gold or silver gilt. At the furthest corner, seated on the divan, we beheld a venerable old man with a white turban, and a long white beard; he was attended by a few of his state officers, a couple of negroes, an Armenian drogueman, and a few others. His whole form was enveloped in a loose blue robe, lined with sables, and he held in his hand a very long pipe, with a magnificent amber mouth-piece, studded with diamonds. We could not be mistaken in the person. We advanced respectfully, and made the salutation of the country. Having been formally presented, and acknowledged, we were desired to be seated; but hesitating to do so from etiquette, the Pascha himself made a sign to us to take a place on the divan near him, which of course we did.

Mohammed Ali entered freely into conversation with us, asking through his interpreter, many unimportant questions, — aware no doubt that he was himself the chief object of our curiosity, and that his urbanity to Europeans would be duly appreciated. Pipes and coffee were handed to us, and we were graciously permitted to put any questions we chose. He asked "how long we had been in Egypt, — what our intentions were, and whether there was any thing he could do to serve us?" "May your condescension never be less," thought I, and for once to be sure, "our heads touched the skies!" I replied, that "we came there for information concerning the antiquities, but that Egypt had always been interesting to the Franks; and

that since His Highness obtained the command, so many improvements had taken place, that it was now regarded as one of the most important countries in the world; and that we were anxious to see his public institutions, of which in Europe, we had heard so much!" All this I could say with great sincerity. I then begged to represent to His Highness how greatly flattered we were by his generosity, and requested he would grant us the necessary "Firmaun" to travel in his dominions, with an especial order to excavate at Thebes or elsewhere, if we thought fit,"—which was immediately promised.

The enquiries made by the Pascha in his interviews with Europeans, may pretty well be conceived; it is not likely that he would so far open his heart, as to make any one master of his thoughts: nor, is it possible to infer from any of his questions or answers, put and returned through a third person, what his real sentiments may be. We retire from his presence, as little acquainted with his disposition, (except by physiognomy and surmise,) as when first admitted. Nothing that is said at a ceremonial visit can be depended on; and the Pascha is too shrewd to drop the slightest hint of his intentions or the line of policy he means to adopt. In order to please him, we gave him a favourable account of the estimation in which he is held in Europe; we praised his institutions, many of which are really good; we spoke in strong terms of the discipline which we had observed among his troops; we admired the beauty of his ships, and alluded to the general improvements that were taking place in Cairo and Alexandria, which could not but turn to the well-being of the inhabitants, especially if the quarantine laws (lately introduced) were properly enforced. In touching

on these various topics we assured his highness that we were highly gratified with our reception in his dominions, and that we had been honoured with an interview with his son Ibrahim Pascha in the dock-yard at Alexandria.

Having thus obtained the royal assent to go wherever we liked, do what we liked, and see every thing that we wished, and having through his interpreter, prolonged the conversation until we began to think ourselves irksome, we prepared to make our "salaam." Coffee was again introduced, (an intimation that we had leave to depart,) after which, we made the usual salutation and withdrew, very much delighted with our interview. I considered that we had just seen one of the most surprising individuals that the world ever produced; though one whose character is very little understood by the inhabitants of Europe. I found him just the sort of person I had imagined. He is now about seventy-four years of age; when I saw him, he was rather inclined to be stout, but not corpulent; his neck is somewhat short, but less so than it appears to be; as some allowance must be made for the fulness of the Oriental dress, and the inclination of the body common to old age. His face has a rounded form, the cheek bones being rather high and prominent; his nose and mouth are well shaped; he has a square forehead, and his countenance, taking it all in all, is by no means unpleasant to look upon; notwithstanding it bears the aspect of sternness and severity. The eye of the Pascha is not dark, though very expressive; it is of a deep grey colour, but softened a little by age:—when younger, he must have had an eye that was not only full of fire and animation, but that would have commanded the respect of all who came within its range. As it is, few men are able to withstand the Pascha's

steady gaze; and when he chooses, he can still, by a single look, penetrate to the very soul of his negotiators, and rob them of the secret sentiments of their heart, though they would not have divulged them for the world! Thus has he succeeded in detecting plots that have been invented to destroy him,—brought his enemies trembling to his feet, and made the treacherous sue for mercy, and confess their sinister designs. This must no doubt be referred in some degree, to the operations going on in the minds of the two parties; the one being seated on the throne of state, invested with all the dignity and authority of a monarch,—the other labouring under a consciousness of his own inferiority, and affected possibly by the criminal injustice of the act which he knows that he was anxious to effect. The muscles of the Pascha's brow, from frequent use, have increased to a large size, and project considerably over the inner orbit, affording a strong indication of care and habitual thoughtfulness. The furrows are not such, however, as constitute an ill-tempered, petulant frown; though many would describe them as the well known symbol of irascibility, apathy, and cruelty;—but Mohammed Ali has on all occasions, displayed too much firmness and presence of mind to be denominated rash; yet he is too impetuous and energetic to be charged with insensibility: and though indifferent to the well being of his subjects, he has not proved himself *wantonly* cruel, in the strict sense of the word. This remarkable knitting of the brow is to be attributed rather to habit; and is the result of anxiety, and a constant desire to read the real character of those by whom he is surrounded: for it should be recollected, that not only has his life been frequently attempted, but having raised himself from obscurity to

the high situation which he now holds, he has had a very difficult and dangerous game to play; one requiring considerable study and address. I believe that the scowl or overhanging of the brow, which at times so peculiarly characterizes the countenance of the Pascha, is precisely that which we may remark in the physiognomy of every hard-featured Bedoueen, and like the lines that are sculptured on the fore-head of the philosopher,—indicating intense observation, watchfulness, and reflection.

The personal appearance of Mohammed Ali bespeaks his character;—it is that of a shrewd, intelligent, calculating, and discerning despot,—one who has been accustomed to deal with the rougher part of mankind, and who owes his advancement in life to the exercise of his wits. Knowing that his actions were watched by persons envious of his success, and ready to thwart the objects which he had in view, he learned to be suspicious of his neighbour, and mistrustful of the whole world; and holding at best a precarious existence, seeing that he had excited the jealousy and the fears of his great master at the Bosphorus, he found it necessary to treat every man as a rogue, admit very few to his councils, acknowledge few friends, and having taken care to elicit the unguarded opinions of others,—rely upon the strength of his own judgment. There is no mistaking the physiognomy of the Pascha. A very correct portrait of him was painted about four years ago, by Mr. Say; and Mohammed Ali sat to Sir David Wilkie only a short time before that artist's death. But by far the best likeness which is to be seen of this extraordinary man, in England, is given as a frontispiece to Mr. Maddox's work on Egypt, published about ten years since. In commenting on

the features which are there pourtrayed, I wish to do justice. I am certainly no admirer of the Pascha's character, yet I will "nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice." The people of Europe were for some time deceived, in consequence of travellers holding back their sentiments. I know it is an ungracious thing to speak ill of another; but, if a man writes at all, it is his duty to say what he thinks, and what he knows to be true. Mohammed Ali has doubtless been blamed for many things which might be traced to the numerous unprincipled persons that have, at various times, been hovering about him, with a view to their own interest; and it is pretty well known that a system of extortion and intimidation has been carried on by the authorities in Egypt, just as in Turkey, in Persia, and other despotic countries; the odium of which would naturally fall upon the chief ruler. That he is not ignorant of this, is certain;* but perhaps he consoles himself with the idea that the same prevailed before his time, and that other monarchs of his own cast, connive at, if they do not openly sanction it;—besides, it is consistent with his education; it was by such means that he succeeded in raising himself from the lowest station to the post he now holds: and it is only by following out the most extensive and rigid monopoly that he has been able to defy the power of the Sultan. He cannot therefore throw the first stone; his officers do but imitate the example of their predecessors, and which he sets them; and I suppose it

* He is also aware that his finances do not receive the most disinterested management; and he has been heard to exclaim since his defeat in Syria, "If I could only find six honest men to help me, I should be a rich and happy Pascha." The thousand and one "friends, countrymen and lovers" upon whom he lavished wealth and titles, deserted him in his adversity; and he truly said—"I stand *alone*, without any one but Boghos Bey to second me."

would hardly suit him to abandon his old practices at the present important crisis.

The enormities which he has himself committed, are referable I think, not to any savage brutality inherent in his nature, but to the want of moral influence; a restless ambition leading him to attempt that which was beyond his reach,—and the mistaken notions of *expediency* to which that ambition gave rise. No man ever became depraved all at once; and he who is radically bad, has invariably the ruffian marked upon his brow. That Mohammed Ali is deaf to the cries of a suffering people, when he has in view the accomplishment of any great design, is perfectly true; but this is the result of education and example: and we must not judge him by the standard of European greatness! It is the nature of man to tyrannize when he can: and if we look back to the early history of our own country, when the existence of a feudal system deprived the honest husbandman of his rights, and kept the whole land in a state of commotion, we shall find many illustrations of the position which the Pascha now holds in Egypt. I am compelled to speak of his faults, because he has been on various occasions, cried up by interested parties, for his generosity, and for his reputed exertions in the cause of science and civilization: whereas it will be seen as I proceed, that his sole incentive to action, is an insatiable thirst for power. No one can give a faithful account of the country without exposing the Pascha's real and ostensible motives; the acme of his ambition is to establish himself and his heirs firmly on the throne, and he will most likely succeed: but I have no hesitation in saying, that if he had had Turks to rule instead of Arabs, he would have been assassinated long ago; nevertheless,

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stern and inexorable though he be, we must not class him with certain members of the Spanish Inquisition, who, we are told, revelled in the blood of their fellow creatures; and wantonly exercised the torture for their morning's entertainment. Such men are the excrescences which now and then encumber the earth; but only now and then:—at least, it is seldom that such monsters are invested with power sufficient to gratify their propensities. I am anxious to frame every excuse I can for the Pascha; and whenever I speak against him, I do so because I view with concern the sufferings of a fine people, capable of every thing that is great and noble, and requiring only a just and fostering government to establish them among nations. But I hear it said in Europe;—"Egypt is no longer a barbarous country; it is civilized; it has institutions equal to our own; it is in a flourishing state;—the Pascha does this—the Pascha does that."—It is not true. It is impossible that any country can be reduced to a greater state of wretchedness than Egypt is in at the present moment. It is ridiculous to talk about the prosperity of a country, and the good intentions of its ruler, when the people are persecuted in every way, and can neither obtain protection nor the common necessaries of life. The schemes of the Viceroy, in as much as they have been the means of bringing the natives in contact with Europeans, (although not always with the finest specimens,) have tended to much good, and the foundation has been laid for something like civilization. The people's eyes are beginning to open, and there is a disposition on the part of all classes to adopt European customs. Fortunately for Mohammed Ali, his vassals are tractable and patient; or they would not so long have submitted to his yoke.

The only fair way to determine the question as to the state of Egypt, is to consider whether we can render a satisfactory answer to the following questions: are the people well supplied with necessaries? Are they happy and in good health? Is there a free and impartial administration of justice? Or is there one law for the rich and another for the poor? Does the labourer receive the value of his hire? Is there any protection for property? Or can the extortioner and the man in power rob the citizen of his liberties, and trample on the rights of the peasant, with impunity? These and many other similar questions have been glanced at in the course of these volumes, and the reader may judge for himself. It is from ocular demonstration I speak, and not from the report of others. To facts, therefore, I would call his attention. I must describe the country *as it is*. What do Mohammed Ali's ambitious schemes avail the wretched Fellah, if he is without food? It is all very well for the Pascha to attempt to place himself on a par with other nations, and if he did so in a proper way, without sacrificing the welfare of the inhabitants, the people would not complain; they are wanting neither in skill nor enterprize; they would gladly aid him in the cause, and thank him for watching over their interests;—but when it is considered, that their rights are disregarded, that the best feelings of their nature are insulted, that they are degraded as men, that they are separated from every thing that is dear to them upon earth, their wives and children, home, country and friends, and that nothing is left them but misery and desolation—every year bringing fresh sorrows, until they are reduced, if they survive, to absolute beggary—no one, I think, will venture to assert that the system adopted by the Pascha

is a just or wholesome one;—no one will declare that these are the days of Egypt's glory! If the Pascha had chosen to husband his means, instead of foolishly squandering away his substance, regardless of consequences, he might have improved the condition of his subjects in every way. There is a great deal of soil still neglected, that he might have cultivated and turned to account;—he might have looked to the irrigation of the land, erected steam-engines and light-houses, factories, schools and hospitals; invited Europeans to settle down in the country; cleansed and improved the larger towns, and done many things that he has already done, and many more that he has not done, and the people would have had reason to rejoice that they possessed so wise a king; for, being naturally industrious and well-disposed, they would then have enjoyed the fruits of their labours, and lived domesticated and happy under the auspices of a good government;—the waste and parched ground would soon have looked green, and the prosperity of the land would have increased, as sickness and poverty diminished:—in a word, the resources of the country would rapidly have multiplied, and the coffers of the public treasury might even have become full. At all events, the Pascha would have had the satisfaction of knowing that he reigned in the hearts of his people; that through the wisdom of his counsels he had raised them to honour, and that they had become one family, under one patriarch, enlightened, free, noble, prosperous, and great. He would have been respected among nations; and he would have descended into the grave at last, amid the tears of his children, sincerely and universally regretted. But as it is, he has aimed at conquest before he was fairly invested with power in the country

to which he has been called; and the austerity of his measures has sufficiently proved that he cares for nothing but the gratification of his own vanity. Before he thought of extending his dominions, how much better would it have been for him to have ingratiated himself with his people, by an impartial distribution of justice, by redressing public grievances, rewarding the industrious, and punishing the oppressor; but seeing that his days upon earth were drawing to a close, he chose to adopt more summary measures: his ambition got the better of his judgment, and induced him to attempt *at once*, that which required *years* to accomplish. He has thereby reduced his finances to nothing; he has stripped a fertile land of the flower of its youth, and robbed his manufactories to increase his army and navy,—positively without knowing how they are to be paid or supported: for he has diminished the number of agriculturists to such a degree, that at times, he has hardly had hands sufficient to do the ordinary work. This was especially the case during the late Syrian campaigns. It is quite clear that such a system must have an end; it cannot last. The late crisis has been a desperate one; Turkey is crippled; she has still troubles enough to endure; and if left to herself, would hardly be able to follow up a war with her rebellious vassal;—but she has powerful allies, and will, if she is wise, be guided by them. Had the Pascha attempted to levy fresh supplies in the vain hope of defending himself, his guards would most likely have revolted, and the very power which he raised would have crushed him. He must know that he is hated; for numbers have deserted, and one day forty of his own guns were found *spiked* on the platforms at Alexandria. Latterly, he created new

enemies in Syria; the Arabs of the Desert, finding their communication with the larger towns cut off, became incensed, and he lost ground with them,—being obliged to submit to the dictation of the English: added to which, he was left in the lurch by France; and it is perfectly well known, that despotic characters are only tolerated as long as "their star is on the rise!" This has been well illustrated by the conduct of the mountain tribes in Syria. As soon as the Pascha and his son ceased to prosper, thousands turned their arms against them; and so it would be in Egypt, the moment an attempt were made by Europeans to land.

Mohammed Ali was born in 1769, at a small village near Salonika—I believe Casia.* His father was what is termed, "a vender of smoke:"—a person of the lowest consideration in a Turkish city,—a man who endeavours to pick up a miserable subsistence by *hawking about* tobacco to those who are so poor (and in the East they must be poor indeed) that they cannot afford to have a pipe of their own. It is the custom of these "dispensers of the soothing weed," to parade the streets, calling out, "Who wants a smoke?" carrying with them a bundle of tubes, and a leathern bag full of the "needful."

Being hailed by some miserable loiterer, they furnish him with a pipe of tobacco, for the small sum of *one parah;* and unless he be an acquaintance, probably stand gossiping with him at his elbow, until the pipe is done; such are the "venders of smoke!" and such was the sire of Mohammed Ali! Happily for the son, he was not bound (as is the case in India) to follow the avocation of his parent. He happened to

* For an account of Mohammed Ali's family, his marriage, &c., see Appendix.

fall in with a French merchant who expanded his ideas a little by conversation, and being an aspiring, daring youth, was excited to raise himself to something above the condition he was then in; and as in despotic countries there is always a wide field for bold adventurers, his talents soon found something to work upon. He attracted the notice of his superiors, and advanced from one rank to another, until he joined the expedition to Egypt, when the country was invaded by France. Once promoted to a high command, he determined to remove, by degrees, every obstacle to the completion of his views. The first step he took was to undermine the authority of the reigning governor, Kourschid Pascha. To this end, he contrived to make himself generally popular; and by all the means in his power, encouraged the discontent which prevailed among the Roumeliote troops, taking care, of course, to ingratiate himself with them at the same time. When he saw that they were ready for revolt, and that the populace were also disaffected, he boldly put himself at their head, marched into the city as the acknowledged avenger of their country's wrongs, and eventually compelled the Pascha to submit to his dictation. Kourschid professed for him the greatest contempt; but thinking it best to conciliate him if he could, caused him to be created "Pascha of Mekka," and soon after, invited him to repair to the citadel for the ceremony of inauguration; but Mohammed Ali was too great an adept in Oriental stratagems to be so easily ensnared: he recollected that "he who enters the hyæna's den, seldom returns alive;" without scruple, therefore, he insisted that the ceremony should be performed in private, and at the house of one of his own friends! He subsequently had the address to

increase the public animosity against this man to such an extent, that the inhabitants would no longer submit to his authority; and the Albanian soldiers, who had fought with Mohammed Ali, and identified themselves with him on all occasions, loudly vociferated in *his* favour; the consequence was, that in 1805, only a few months afterwards, he was duly appointed "Pascha of Egypt" by the Sublime Porte. As might be expected, this gave rise to many jealousies among the adherents of the old party; fresh enemies sprung up, and the Mamlûks, who looked upon Mohammed Ali as an intriguing, adventurous upstart, were strenuously opposed to him. The Pascha was aware of this; it alarmed him, and he kept his eye upon them, like an infuriated tiger ready to pounce upon the slumbering lion. They alone had power to thwart his inclination, and he began seriously to consider how they might be subdued. He resolved to insult one of their favourites: an opportunity soon occurred; according to some, he only *pretended* to do so, and then bribed the individual to stir up the rest. Be this as it may, they thought themselves bound to resent the injury; and either voluntarily, or by persuasion, determined on attacking the Pascha, during the celebration of the festival held at the opening of the Nile.* But Mohammed Ali either suspected or had secret intimation of their intentions, and laid his own plans. As soon as the Mamlûks had entered the narrow streets of the city, they were assailed on all sides by musket balls from the windows and terraces. A great many suffered on the spot; the rest fled in confusion under cover of

* When the Nile is at its height, the sluices are opened, and the water is allowed to flow into the heart of the city; on which occasion, there are always great rejoicings; guns are fired, and the day is spent in feasting and jollity, at least by those who have the means.

the night. This additional proof of the Viceroy's intrepidity gained him many new friends: for the people were always glad when the haughty Mamlûks received a check. But in despotic countries, a successful adventurer is never without secret foes; and whilst these things were doing at Cairo, the partizans of the deposed Kourschid Pascha were not idle. The name of his successor was often mentioned at the Bosphorus; and at last, a "Capidgi Bashi" was sent to Egypt with sealed orders relative to the speedy surrender of the government. The wily Pascha placed the royal firmaun to his forehead, in token of his submission, arrayed the Sultan's envoy in the robes of honour, and loaded him with presents; but somehow or other, he never returned! Time passed on. Mohammed Ali sought every opportunity of enriching himself: he laid up stores and provisions; admitted about his person none but those on whom he could implicitly rely; repaired the dilapidations at the citadel, and strengthened the garrison. Once more the suspicions of the Sultan became excited, and the Turkish high-admiral received peremptory orders to bring him to Constantinople without delay. The Viceroy, ever on his guard, now pleaded illness, and with the most profound reverence excused himself; at the same time blinding the Sultan's eyes, by forwarding to him a large sum of money as a mark of his zeal and attachment! Nothing daunted, he continued in the same course. "The tiger is always most dangerous when he crouches!" The suspicions of his master were lulled; and at the festival of the "Beiram," when the "Tewdjéhal" is published by the Porte, that is to say, the annual statement of all promotions, dismissals, and appointments throughout the Ottoman empire,

Mohammed Ali found himself confirmed in office.* Nevertheless, he felt that he was watched, and it behoved him to be vigilant too. He was still mistrustful of the Mamlûks; their numbers were great; their skill and prowess made them formidable; their influence was extensive; and he imagined that they were continually plotting his ruin. He foresaw that they would mar all his projects, if they did not shake his authority, and he believed himself insecure while they lived. On the score of *expediency*, therefore, he determined, if possible, to annihilate them. Just at this juncture, the Whahabees, a religious fanatical sect of Arabia, made a descent upon the Holy City, and committed many outrages. This afforded him a fine opportunity to put his plan in execution. He called a Divan, and declared his intention of sending an army to quell the insurrection; he then made overtures of reconciliation to the Beys, and the better to conceal his real motives, gave them to understand that in this religious war, they were to take a very prominent part, and as an earnest of his favour, proposed that they should lead the van. At the same time, he proclaimed a "fantasia" or fête, in honour of the expedition, adding that he should himself inspect the troops before they set out. As a still further compliment, and in order to get his victims effectually entangled in his net, he stated that he should review the Mamlûks by themselves, and this was accordingly done; they were about 1600 strong, I suppose the finest body of cavalry in the world. Having expressed himself highly delighted with their appearance, he dismissed them with the warmest assurances of his goodwill. One half of their number immediately set forward; and in the course of a few days, when he had

* See Vol. II. Chap. II.

the main body of the soldiers marshalled before him, preparatory to their departure, he summoned the rest of the Mamlûks again to the citadel, in order that they might receive his final instructions.

They came splendidly attired, mounted and accoutred, ready to march, little suspecting treachery; but once within the walls, the gates were closed, and they began to discover the trap that was laid for them: but it was too late; they had no means of defence or escape, and they were shot down from the battlements and windows in the great square, I believe, to a man! It is said that one individual did actually leap his charger from the parapet, that the rider escaped, but that the poor horse was killed;—of this little is known. The signal was now given for the army to set out. They came up with the first division of the Mamlûks near the Cataracts. These devoted heroes unsuspectingly came forth to meet, as they supposed, their comrades; but they were immediately attacked and routed. They retired upon Castle Ibrim; but being unprepared for a siege, they were soon forced to quit so uncertain a refuge; and after defending themselves with astonishing valour, the remnant that escaped fled to the interior, and settled near Dongola, where they were allowed to continue: for their power being destroyed, they were no longer the enemies of the Viceroy! Thus ended the career of the Mamlûks; and, much as we may be shocked at the contemplation of the act which I have described, we have reason to think, that with their death, the fanaticism and prejudice, which formed for many years the bar to civilization in Egypt, began to give way: just as was the case in Constantinople, when the Sultan exterminated the Janizaries.* Thus, out

* The massacre of the Mamlûks took place in 1811. The Pascha then set

of evil will proceed much good: for as long as these two powerful bodies remained, there was no chance of enlightening either of these countries; and it is remarkable, that the very steps which the Sultan and his Viceroy took to establish their authority,—and, as was pretended, the religion of their fathers, will prove hereafter to have been the means of promoting Christianity! No man can shut his eyes to the progress which civilization has made since these events occurred. The Mamlûks were originally military slaves, imported from Georgia and Circassia; but many others, and Europeans as well as blacks, joined them at various times, — parting however with their religion and their freedom, in order to become the favourite dependents of their royal master. I have already described their dress; but in former times, they wore under their garments, a coat of mail or chain armour; they had also a scull-cap or helmet, and they usually carried a battle-axe. They received no pay; they were remarkable for their fidelity, — their personal beauty, — their horsemanship, and the use of the scimitar. They were very brave, capable of enduring great fatigues, and excellent skirmishers; but they were haughty, vain, and gay, fond of dress and parade, (which led to their final overthrow,) and they were not over-scrupulous; thus they excited the jealousy and envy of the natives, especially as they were in favour with the

about organizing a regular army, in which he was assisted by Colonel Selves, a French officer (Suleyman Bey) who, introducing European tactics in 1815, caused a revolt among the Arabs; but the system was established. The Janizaries were not so easily quieted. Inimical to every sort of improvement, and jealous of the encouragement given to the Franks, they caused the Sultan Mahmoud a great deal of trouble, and were at last attacked by artillery, and destroyed in their own barracks, in 1826. For a more particular account of this event, see the excellent writings of the Rev. Dr. Walsh, for some time Chaplain to the English Embassy at Constantinople.

authorities, held high offices themselves, often became rich, and as might be expected, overbearing.

When we reflect on all that Mohammed Ali has undergone, and take an impartial review of his history, we certainly must acknowledge him to be an extraordinary—nay, a wonderful man. He has been preserved in the midst of many and great perils, and he seems to have been indebted for every thing to himself. He never depended on another; but mistrusted all the world.

> "There is a tide in the affairs of men,
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

Mohammed Ali availed himself of every incident which favored him, and was sure to turn it to the best account. Born in obscurity, he rose to greatness; he broke through every barrier that was raised to impede his progress. The truth must be spoken. Without the benefits of a modern education,—without any of the advantages of civilization,—a bad example always before his eyes,—accustomed to tyranny and despotism, bloodshed, and rapine, he went on step by step, watching his opportunities, and calculating his risks, until at last, seizing the happy moment, he threw off the mask, and put himself effectually on the throne of Egypt,—arrogating, as Viceroy, authority which was absolute, and which the Sultan would gladly have deprived him of. The latter foresaw that the Pascha would one day assert his independence; for he had long been insolent and disobedient, and did every thing in his power to annoy him. He knew that he had his emissaries in all parts of Turkey; and that in order the better to carry his ambitious schemes into effect, he frequently excited revolts in the remoter provinces; and had numerous spies also at Constanti-

nople, who regularly acquainted him with all the secrets of the "Divan." Several attempts were made to remove him. It is said that on one occasion, the Sultan gave him, among other presents, a beautiful Circassian slave; and that before setting out, he sent for the poor innocent girl, and tried to inflame her simple imagination, by stating that he was about to send her to the king of a beautiful country; and that by means of a talisman which he would give her, she might cause him to be so enamoured of her charms, as to make her his favourite Sultana. Then, producing a magnificent box, he took from a secret drawer, a small lozenge carefully wrapped up. Having enjoined the strictest secrecy in regard to the whole affair, he instructed her, that she should watch a favourable opportunity when her master was intoxicated with her beauty, and she was reclining on his bosom, to drop the talisman, *unperceived by him*, into his cup;—that it would speedily disappear, and that she should then induce him, by all the enticing arts that Nature had made her mistress of, to drink it off. This story (though I do not vouch for its accuracy,) will not seem improbable, when the manner in which females are brought up in these countries, is recollected. But of the sequel there is *no doubt*. A beautiful Circassian did arrive at Alexandria with other presents for the Pascha; and I am assured that, as soon as Mohammed Ali was informed of the fact, he refused *even to see her*. Whether he suspected, with his usual shrewdness, that, having done nothing to merit such a mark of the Sultan's favour, there might be some treachery concealed, it is impossible to say;—but at all events, he determined *not to see her*. All the presents were, of course, received according to etiquette, compliments paid

the bearers of them, and a suitable answer returned. But as soon as they were gone, he caused the slave to be taken to Bel-al-Agah, the Governor of Alexandria, a great fat man, who had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Pascha, — thinking, that if any mischief *should be* lurking at the bottom of this mystery, the evil which was designed for *him*, would possibly rid him of one whose services he no longer required! What befel the Governor, I am not prepared to say; — but the fact is certain — that about this identical period, he was suddenly reported— *defunct!*

On another occasion, certain parties arrived at Alexandria, bearing important "firmauns" for the Pascha! A Cand'gia was sent down in great style, and with every demonstration of respect, to convey them to Cairo. Whether, and what, sinister views were suspected, it is not for *me* to determine; though a great deal was said at the time, about "bow-strings," and the like! If there *were* any evil machinations afloat, however, they were not afloat long;—for by some "accident" or other, (it certainly does blow *very* hard sometimes,) one night, the Cand'gia was upset, and the parties were—drowned!

It was not until Mohammed Ali broke out into open rebellion, that the Sultan took any very active measures to curb his insolence; for he was too conscious of his own weakness. He, therefore, who under so many disadvantages and difficulties, could attain to such high honors, and establish himself as he has done, almost as an independent monarch,—who could win so many victories, subjugate neighbouring states, and in spite of all opposition, so far overcome the religious scruples of the people, as to associate them with

Europeans, and cause them to adopt many of their customs, (to say nothing of the Institutions which he has attempted to introduce,) can certainly be a person of no ordinary capacity.

Mohammed Ali prides himself on having been born in the same year with the Duke of Wellington, Soult, Napoleon Buonaparte, and other illustrious characters, viz. in 1769. He was sincerely attached to his wife, a very superior woman, who had always great influence over him. She was buried by her son Toussoun Pascha, in a splendid mausoleum near Cairo. The Pascha is quite a man of business: he sleeps little; he is acquainted with no European language; he is fond of chess, and takes great delight in sitting on the banks of the canal at Alexandria, and in the gardens of Shoubra near Cairo; visiting his dockyards, arsenal, citadel, and public works. He cares nothing about newspapers; but in order to please the authorities, he has established one in Egypt, called the "Cairo Gazette," and another at Canea in Candia. The latter is published in the Turkish and Modern Greek languages. The Turkish title is "Events in Crete," and the Greek, "Cretan Ephemeris."

The Consuls of England and France had repeated interviews with the Viceroy on the subject of his relations with Turkey. In 1838, just before he set out for Nubia, whither he went to inspect the gold mines of Fazoglou, Mohammed Ali expatiated largely on the conduct of the Sultan. He did not hesitate to declare that Mahmoud was not in a situation to rule over the Syrian provinces; and as to Egypt, that it was time for *him* to think of a successor;—at all events to see that the throne descended to his own family. He added, that the most certain means was,

to "free himself from the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte,—which would be easy, if England and France, viewing rightly their own interests, interposed no obstacles in the way of his designs." After this cool declaration of his sentiments, he terminated the conference by remarking that, "he did not wish to be wanting in the *respect* he owed to the Cabinets of London or Paris; and that on his return from Sennaar, if he did not receive a favourable communication in the mean time, he should set himself to work, to put an end to this *important affair*." The expedition alluded to afforded him a pretext also for evading the regulations lately enforced in other parts of the Turkish Empire; and the British Consul afterwards expressed great dissatisfaction at his *intentional* absence at the very time fixed for carrying the treaty of commerce into execution. Mohammed Ali was thought ready to forego his independence, if he could secure the throne of Egypt to his family. There could be no doubt that this was his chief aim; and he would have liked future generations to say of him, that he had firmly seated his posterity on the banks of the Nile. But subsequently, inflated by success, which, sanguine as he was, he could not have anticipated, and getting possession of the Ottoman fleet, through the treachery of the Capoudan Pascha,—like most ambitious men, he knew not where to stop; and he began to make still further demands.* Until he was seventy years of age, he did not talk of a successor, and he

* The Turkish fleet was betrayed into the hands of Mohammed Ali, by the Capoudan Pascha, on the 14th of July 1839. Its chest contained 120,000*l.*; and when, at a subsequent period, Admiral Walker reproached the perfidious traitor, he replied with perfect nonchalance, that "his motives could not be appreciated!" He made religion the pretext; but there is very little doubt, I think, that he was bribed.—Vide Appendix.

seemed to have no idea of death. About three years and-a-half ago, when the subject was mentioned, Ibrahim and his father had some words. It was evident, however, that he then began to turn his attention to the matter. At one time, he named Said Ben Ali, his son, who was only nineteen years of age, as his presumptive heir; at another, he spoke of dividing his dominions between Ibrahim, and Abbas Pascha his grandson (Governor of Cairo), who was twenty-seven years of age. He objected to Ibrahim, on account of his impetuosity; and declared that he would have been lost long ago, had it not been for his own policy and stratagems,—spite of his bravery! There may be some truth in this, for Ibrahim is generous and noble; Mohammed Ali is deliberate and subtle, and has the power to captivate at a distance. All diplomatists, who have come in contact with him, have admired his wonderful sagacity, and I do not think one of them ever divined his real intentions. I believe him to be too vain and too suspicious, to think that any one of his family has talent enough to preserve an empire which cost him so much intriguing, and decisive energy to obtain. That "the money of the great is never lost,"—is a proverb which he has followed to the very letter. With him every thing is calculation. The enormous sums he squandered among the Turks and Arabs returned again to his coffers, after having produced considerable interest. More recently, Dr. Bowring came to Stamboul, to negociate the independence of Egypt with Lord Ponsonby and the Sultan, but he could make no impression on either; and Mohammed Ali's disappointment was considerable.*

* The fact is, Dr. Bowring was deceived by the employés, and others, who being interested parties, allowed him to view only one side of the picture.

He has since had recourse to all the schemes that the most inventive genius could devise, without effect. He threatened to march on the capital, to create revolts, burn the fleet, and involve the whole of Europe in a war. He has had talent enough to maintain his ground much longer than was expected. He trusted to France, and fully calculated on her powerful aid. Although at times depressed, he redoubled his energies,—took if possible more active measures,—sent re-inforcements to Syria, and with them an order to raise 10,000 additional conscripts there; and he extended his fortifications. Twenty regiments of national guards were ordered to be formed in Egypt, each to consist of 3,200 men;—to exercise several hours weekly, and then to return to their labours. At Cairo, four regiments—at Alexandria, two—at Damietta, and Old Cairo, each one,—the rest in the Delta and the provinces. Arms and ammunition were prepared, tremendous stores accumulated, the conscription went forward with increased vigour: two colonels were chosen from the "Ulemah,"—one named Ahmed Ghininé, the ex-Cadi of the city; the other, Mohammed Salami, a relative of the Mufti; and it was evident that a strong resistance was to be made, in case of attack. The new soldiers of high rank were pleased at the idea; the people alarmed. The officers of the Turkish squadron had their pay raised two-thirds above that formerly paid by the Sultan; and with such promises *in prospectu*, they expressed their willingness to fight against the *Infidels*, and the friends of their master! This was only a beginning; but every thing looked well, and the Pascha thought himself secure in his strong-hold.

CHAPTER XV.

FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE DETENTION AND SUBSEQUENT RESTORATION OF THE OTTOMAN FLEET—THE WAR IN SYRIA — SUMMARY OF EVENTS — INTERFERENCE OF GREAT BRITAIN—THE FALL OF CAIFFA, BEYROUT, TRIPOLI, AND TARSOUS—THE BOMBARDMENT OF ACRE AND SIDON — ENGLISH NAVAL GUNNERY—EGYPTIAN MILITIA—BRITISH INFLUENCE IN THE LEVANT — MOHAMMED ALI'S INDIGNATION AT THE CONDUCT OF FRANCE — REVOLT OF THE BEDOUEENS—THE "RHAMAD'HAN" AND THE "BAIRAM"—COMMODORE NAPIER'S CONVENTION—THE CONFERENCE OF THE BOSPHORUS—COMMERCIAL ARRANGEMENTS — GENEROSITY OF THE BRITISH ADMIRALS—FRENCH ENGINEERING—THE PASCHA'S NEW PROJECTS — MARMORICE, RHODES, AND THE COAST OF KARAMANIA, ETC.

Mohammed Ali had been stimulated to the bold reply alluded to at the close of the last chapter,—partly by the assiduities of the French, who for a long period had great influence over him, and tried to please him; but chiefly by a continued series of successful adventures. The destruction of the Mamlûks was but the prelude to his fortunes;—the army under the command of Ibrahim Pascha returned in triumph from the conquest of the Whahabees, in 1819, and was immediately despatched to the interior, headed by Ismael

Pascha, his third son,—who, however, did not live to return, being assassinated in his tent by a Nubian chief. The rage of the troops on this occasion knew no bounds; they were not to be restrained; it is said, they satiated their revenge by the slaughter of not less than 30,000 people! They returned to Cairo without their leader, but crowned with laurels,—having reduced the kingdoms of Sennaar and Cordofan, and the entire districts of Nubia, the Cataracts, and Upper Egypt. The death of Ismael was a severe blow to the Viceroy, who had already lost his other son, Toussoun Pascha, in 1816; and his hopes now rested solely on Ibrahim, whose impetuosity of temper he feared would one day draw him into some fatal scrape, and thus deprive him of the prospect of a male heir and successor,—a circumstance on which the happiness of his life seemed to depend. Whilst these things were acting in Egypt, revolts were proceeding in Turkey; and in 1822, the head of Ali Pascha of Janina, was exposed within the Seraglio gates at Constantinople. Ibrahim Pascha was then sent by his father to the Morea, in aid of the Sultan's cause, which, after many sanguinary contests, was virtually determined by the Battle of Navarino, on the 20th of October 1827. Mohammed Ali was cunningly "biding his time;" and on the return of his son, he made the losses he had sustained in Greece, together with the advantages likely to accrue to the Sultan from his campaigns against the Whahabees and the Nubians, a pretext for strong claims upon the Porte. In short, he demanded the Paschalics of Acria and Damascus. Candia was offered him instead; but this being in a state bordering on insurrection, and altogether inadequate to his expectations, he

pretended to take umbrage, and subsequently withheld his aid when most needed, allowing the Emperor Mahmoud to fight his own battles against the Russians, who, after besieging Silistria, and Varna, crossed the Balkân, and compelled the Moslems to capitulate. It was clear that His Highness had done wrong by entrusting so much to his already too powerful vassal. The treaty of Adrianople, in September 1829, established the independence of the Greek States; and soon after, Otho of Bavaria was placed on the throne by the five powers. Mohammed Ali was not idle all this time. He watched the proceedings of the Sultan with the eye of a lynx, and secretly fomented discord in the Turkish provinces. He had now become sufficiently acquainted with Europeans, to desire their services, and invite them to his dominions; but he was rash; he deceived others, and was deceived himself:—tempted by the piastres, all sorts of characters flocked around him; now and then, he met with clever men, but seldom with talent, experience, and principle united. He was very desirous of extending his marine. He passed a great deal of his time at the arsenal at Alexandria, and caused four frigates and several smaller vessels to be built in rapid succession, under the superintendence of Monsieur Cerisier, a French engineer, whom he appointed to the head of the dock-yard. Two ships of the line were then laid down, and his first three-decker of 110 guns, was launched on the 3rd of January 1831. About the same time, he purchased a large frigate of the English, which, fortunately for him, was sent out under the command of Captain Prissick, R. N. who, with the energy which distinguished him on all occasions, preferring activity to a life of ease, allowed himself

to be persuaded to remain in the Pascha's service.* The Viceroy continued his warlike preparations with unremitting perseverance. Ibrahim raised a body of cavalry; several new regiments of infantry were organized on the European system; and in the course of about four years, from twenty-six to thirty sail were added to the Egyptian navy. Sanguine with success, the Pascha determined to *take* what his master had denied; he had no difficulty in finding a pretext for waging war with Abd'-allah, Pascha of Acria, who locked himself up in his strong hold, with immense stores, and a garrison of 3000 men. Ibrahim may be said to have commenced the siege on the 27th of November 1831; but being opposed by the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, did not finally take possession of the citadel, until the 27th of May following; although he had been joined by the Emir Beschir, and the Druses of Lebanon. He was able to depend on a very few of his officers;† and the expedition cost the Viceroy between 4000 and 5000 men. Abd-'allah, who on various occasions had made himself obnoxious to the Sultan, was now sent a prisoner to the Bosphorus: the Sultan became exasperated at the Pascha's assurance, and on the 14th of March 1832, dismissed Hussein, whom he had previously employed to destroy the Janizaries, (and whom he now appointed Pascha of Egypt, in Mohammed Ali's stead,) with an army to attack Ibrahim, who, as well as his father, was anathematized by the Scheikh ul Islam; and a fleet was also despatched to the Levant.† To show his contempt for this, the Viceroy induced the Scheriff of Mekka to issue a similar bull or fethwa against the Sultan, declaring

* See ante, Chap. II.; also Vol. II. chap. V. † See ante, Chap. II.

him the enemy of the Prophet: and Ibrahim immediately took possession of Damascus. He entered the city on the 15th of June, and hearing that 20,000 Turks had advanced upon Homs, he proceeded to give them battle; the whole of his available force did not exceed 16,000 men; nevertheless, he completely routed them, taking twelve guns and 3000 prisoners. On the seventeenth of July he became master of Aleppo. It is to be feared his soldiers committed great excesses there, for we are assured on good authority, that a population of 200,000 was reduced to 75,000. I shall have occasion to demonstrate that rapine and plunder form no part of Ibrahim's policy; but those who understand the character of Oriental nations, need scarcely be reminded, that when once excited, it is not always in the power of the wisest generals to restrain them,—especially when, as in the present instance, their efforts have been rewarded by repeated victories. Elated with so large a share of prosperity, the Egyptians engaged the enemy again at Beylau, in the north of Syria, beat them, and carried off twenty-five pieces of cannon:—subsequently crossing the Taurus from Adana, they encamped in the plains of Anatolia; having destroyed no less than 70,000 men in two battles! On the eighteenth of November they entered Konieh; the whole country was panic-struck, and it was confidently expected that Ibrahim would march upon the capital. Had he done so, he would certainly have lost, by one rash step, all that he had gained by his previous campaigns. He was well aware that the Russians were ready to espouse the cause of the Sultan, if even the other European powers did not interfere. He determined therefore to recruit his army, and to wait until compelled to defend himself

against the aggressions of others. He might now be said to have conquered the whole of Syria. He concentrated a large force at Aleppo and Damascus; and comparatively little effort was made by the Porte to eject him: schemes were continually tried indirectly to undermine his authority; and revolts, to which it is said the Russians were accessory, frequently occurred. Of course, the excesses committed by the mountaineers and the wandering tribes were all laid to Ibrahim's charge. Doubtless, as a leader, he found it necessary to make many summary examples; but wherever he went, he did all he could to conciliate, as I shall have occasion to point out. The Sultan Mahmoud's health now began rapidly to decline. Worried by political intrigues, intestine broils, disappointment, and chagrin, his constitution, which had already been impaired by indulgence, seemed to give way: a show of opposition was still made to the proceedings of the Viceroy, but His Highness evidently foresaw what the result would be; and he was not without sundry misgivings concerning himself. Time passed on. Mohammed Ali continued to strengthen the places which he held on the frontier, and to suppress revolts:—the Sultan did the same; but there was a great deal of vacillation in his conduct. Proclamations were issued without being enforced; divans were summoned; the European Ministers were consulted; and troops were levied, marched about, and recalled;—but nothing of any consequence was done, until the spring of 1839. It appeared as if a decisive blow was then to be struck; for suddenly a movement was made towards the Euphrates. A force amounting to not less than 35,000 men, under the command of Hafiz Pascha, (aided by several Prussian officers,) assembled on the

right bank of the river, and laid siege to about sixty villages. On the twenty-second of May, they fortified themselves at Nezib; and two days afterwards, falling in with the Egyptian out-posts, and the division of Suleyman Bey, at Ouroul, some desperate skirmishing took place, which became the signal for Ibrahim to advance from Aleppo. Having carefully reconnoitered the enemy, he made a few manœuvres, with a view of getting, if possible, into their rear, not liking their position. The two armies were numerically equal; but he could not depend on all his troops; and feeling that this battle, if well contested, might lead to the overthrow of the Sultan's cause, he boldly placed himself between his antagonists and the Euphrates, thinking to prevent the possibility of desertion. Nevertheless, 1800 of his Syrian Guards joined the Turks during the action, and several disaffected corps quitted their ranks, and were dispersed at the very onset. The engagement took place on the 24th of June 1839; and, as usual, was decided in favour of Ibrahim. The Ottoman army was completely routed; the havoc was very great; and those that escaped the carnage, were plundered by the wandering tribes: numbers afterwards died of their wounds, or perished in the wilderness from fatigue and the want of food and water. The power and the name of the Viceroy were, from this time, effectually established: insurrections continued to occur at intervals, but they were put down without much trouble; for the people found the military no longer inclined to aid them, the most unlooked-for treachery having developed itself in favour of Mohammed Ali. It was just at this crisis, that the news arrived of the base surrender of the Sultan's fleet, which on the eighth of June had sailed

from the Dardanelles, with considerable reinforcements; besides, many dissensions and jealousies existed between the officers, both by sea and by land: the Europeans who had espoused the cause of the Sultan grew tired of his service; and the troops being sick and dispirited, having sustained so many hardships and defeats, were unwilling to prolong a contest which they considered as hopeless.

No man ever enjoyed a larger share of good luck, perhaps, than Mohammed Ali. Through life, every thing seemed to combine to further his views. There is reason to believe, that he had long been in communication with the perfidious Achmed, Capoudan Pascha; and that bribery did its part. Be this as it may, the delivery of the Sultan's fleet into his hands at such a moment, was an event which the most ardent adventurer could not have anticipated. As soon as he found himself in actual possession of it, he altered his policy. When he heard that Hafiz was advancing with a large army and 150 pieces of cannon, he commanded his son to wait until he was first attacked; but circumstances were now changed, and he determined to lay aside the mask. Accordingly, he dismissed a courier to Syria with peremptory instructions; and the same despatches which conveyed to Ibrahim intelligence of what had transpired, brought him orders to attack the Turks *without reserve*:—his wishes were scrupulously complied with, and we have seen with what result. It had long been suspected that the Pascha was preparing to throw off the Turkish yoke; he had not paid any tribute for two years, and he now became bolder than ever; having like an experienced gamester, calculated his chances. Some kind friend whispered into his ear something about the unset-

tled state of the British colonies, and the possibility of a rupture between America and the Mother-country, —powerful fleets were cruising in the Mediterranean, and the whole Continent of Europe was up in arms —nobody knew why!—discussions ran high among diplomatists; and couriers were continually passing between St. George's Channel, Paris, and the Bosphorus! He knew that his proceedings were watched, and commented on: he believed that, in the Cabinets of Europe, he had as many friends as enemies; and he comforted himself with the idea, that if England opposed him, France would take up his cause;—that this would lead to a general war, which all parties were anxious to avoid; and as a bold adventurer, he was ready to "stand the hazard of the die." He had succeeded in Syria beyond his most sanguine expectations; and it was not to be supposed, that having gained possession of the Turkish fleet, he would easily be induced to give it up; he had no thought of such a thing, and prohibited, on pain of death, the return of any Turkish officer: at the same time, he nominated Achmed (the very man who had deserted the Sultan) to the command of the united Turkish and Egyptian navy. This was done in direct opposition to the British, who offered to grant a passport to all who, being detained against their will, wished to withdraw. The Pascha, encouraged by so unlooked-for an addition to his power, still carried on the war in the most determined manner; but he foresaw that, although he had conquered Syria, he should have enough to do to retain it, and bring the mountain tribes under his entire subjection. He therefore instructed his son to be firm and resolute; but to act once more on the

defensive, and be satisfied: he re-inforced his army, especially on the borders of Asia Minor; he took care that they should be well supplied with every necessary, and laid up abundant stores at all the fortresses on the coast, which, aided by French engineers, he continued to strengthen. But he threatened to march on Constantinople in the event of steps being taken to compel him to submit. "If any one attacks me," said he, "I will defend myself; but I will not attack any body!"—confident of success if left to take his own course,—sanguine of powerful assistance in case of need! On this he built all his hopes; and certainly he had a right to expect the proffered aid of his political advisers; but he was flattered and cajoled by them most completely.

The English now began in good earnest to interfere in behalf of their "ancient ally." They remonstrated with Mohammed Ali in the most sincere and friendly manner; they pointed out to him the absurdity of his conduct, and at last told him without disguise, that his views concerning Syria could not be tolerated: they acted towards him with the greatest forbearance, and warned him of the critical position in which he was about to place himself. But it was in vain; he continued to arm, and to reinforce the camp at Mount Taurus and Damascus. As a sort of practical hint, on the 30th of March, 1840, they intercepted several hundred Albanian volunteers, who were proceeding to Alexandria in Ionian vessels, to recruit the Egyptian army. This circumstance so irritated the Pascha, that he threatened Colonel Hodges, the British Consul-General, "to produce a revolt in Albania." Nothing doubting that he had both the will and the power to do so, if excited, the Colonel, with a view to open his

eyes to the folly of such asseverations, treated him in his own way, after the manner of the Orientals,—though he is said to have used a strong, and, in *European* diplomacy, somewhat unusual figure, in his reply to such vapouring. "Know," said he, "that if you persist in the use of such language, it is in the power of England to *pulverize* you, ere three months expire!" The arrogant and despotic can only be subdued by an unflinching firmness of manner: once let them get the ascendancy, even in tone or demeanour, and they will soon have you beneath their feet. It is the same in the East as in the world at large. Among the wealthy who have risen from nothing, we sometimes meet with persons who presume upon their good fortune,—who not unfrequently mistake the deference which is paid to their rank for *homage*, and are mean enough to take advantage of generosity. Inflated with pride, their vanity persuades them that, because they are rich, they are necessarily great and honourable; and thus it too often happens that the worthy are slighted by the unworthy,—the overbearing insult the meek,—and the ignorant and purse-proud, who are tolerated in society for the sake of their money, though pitied, laughed at, and despised, (being for the most part conceited, unprincipled, and sordid characters,) attempt to trample upon those whose merits and education have excited their jealousy and spleen. Such men are sure to find their own level, if treated with the same hauteur which they affect to display towards others. Whenever we have any dealings with people who, from not knowing better, make an undue use of their authority, we must uphold our dignity in self-defence;—it will never do to let them imagine that they can gain their ends by intimidation. The *would-be-great* are generally cowards

at heart; and, like the imperious in hot countries, often bluster and talk to make a show of their consequence.

The case was somewhat different with Mohammed Ali, inasmuch as he asserted no more than he was able to accomplish. His bravery was undoubted; his talents distinguished; he had raised himself to real power, and his threats were no empty words: he dared do *any thing*; yet, much as he might hope to silence the Consul as he had discomfited others, by his intrepidity,—he must have had his misgivings, seeing that a storm was gathering around him. The dispute between him and Colonel Hodges ran high; it was adjusted at last, by the other consuls: nevertheless, His Highness was not to be diverted from his original purpose; and in a short time, the "Gorgon" steam-frigate made her appearance off the coast, bringing a formal demand for the immediate restitution of the Turkish fleet. The Pascha controlled his feelings: he received the British Envoy with respect, urbanity, and gentleness;—seeming to submit, he remonstrated in his turn; complained bitterly of the treatment he had experienced from the Porte, attempted to justify himself, and was quite ready to do any thing they wished, *provided* they would allow him to make his own conditions! A specious answer was returned,—the demand was several times repeated,—some plausible excuse was always ready,—complimentary letters found their way to the capital,—fair words and promises in abundance,—but no ships! An embargo was still laid upon the Sultan's lieges; many of them contracted the diseases of the country, and died; the rest were held fast in the land of bondage, and compelled to submit to Egyptian officers: the fortifications

were extended, and every day brought recruits and fresh supplies to Alexandria. It is probable, that if the Viceroy had at this time quietly withdrawn his troops from Syria, and surrendered the fleet without giving the Sultan any further trouble, he would have been granted hereditary possession of Egypt, and perhaps, even the Paschalic of Acre; but, obstinate to the last, and contrary to the wishes of his son Ibrahim, he must needs persist in his hostile and perverse measures; and England, wearied with being put off by him under various pretences, evidently in order to gain time, sent a fleet to blockade the coast. Mohammed Ali still continued to be duped by his French employés; his engineers reported St. Jean d'Acre *impregnable*:—it might have been, in the hands of Europeans, but after a cannonade of three hours and a-half, the British and Turkish flags were floating from the walls. They assured him also that "four of *their* guns were equal to the broadside of an English man-of-war!" At Alexandria 400 guns bore upon the sea, therefore the batteries were numerically equivalent to a British fleet of 100 sail of the line! —to say nothing of the new line of batteries which has since been raised for the defence of the eastern harbour; but, as a competent eye-witness remarks, "the 24-pounder gun-carriages, and platforms along this water-line, are very ill constructed; the latter are so scanty that they would probably fall backward at the first shot, and knock their own wheels off! The mortars too, sit on a sandy foundation, which is shaken at every charge when the men are exercising; and there is, therefore, no possibility of taking a sure aim with them!" So much for the Pascha's engineers!—I do not pretend to give an opinion on these

matters myself; I only record them to illustrate how miserably Mohammed Ali was deceived. Fort Cretin (the hill-fort within the walls nearest the Rosetta Gate) has been enlarged, and armed with heavy guns. The old Pharos tower has also been converted into a fort, and a new light-house erected in its stead, on the promontory of the "Ras el Teen," (Cape of Figs) behind the Seraglio.

I have such documents in my possession, and I have been an eye-witness of so much trickery myself, that were I so disposed, I could adduce many things to illustrate the negligence, waste, and apathy which distinguish, with few exceptions, those who are engaged in the Pascha's service; but I will merely refer to one which is of recent occurrence. When the combined fleets were reported *ready* to put to sea, the balls were found to be too big for the cannons! Some of the ships were then served four times by the store-keeper, before he could hit the proper calibre; and lightermen might be seen pitching them in at one side, and taking out at the other. "'Tis not my fault," said the captain, "I sent an order for so many rounds for my ship. Those fellows in the arsenal ought to know the size of the guns they put in her." "It's no fault of mine," said the store-keeper, "I sent all the cartridges they asked for; and they might have tried and sent them all back again at once, if they were not too lazy."

I have already alluded to the manner in which Mohammed Ali raises troops.* The cruelties practised on these occasions are nothing new, and I will close this subject with a few words respecting the "Redif," national guard, or militia of Egypt, of

* See ante, Chap. IV.

which a great deal has been said by the Pascha's partizans.

They are very numerous, but they consist chiefly of boys and old men, stolen from their families, and driven down in chains to the coast, there to be drilled, or sent on board the ships, (if occasion require.)* At first, it was not intended to send them out of the country, or even away from the town in which they were raised; but in cases of emergency, it is not to be supposed that the authorities would be at all particular; if troops were wanted, they must be had.† In April, 1840, a regiment of 3,200 was formed at Damietta; and subsequently, as many at Rosetta, Boulac, and Old Cairo, besides those at Alexandria, the capital, and other large towns;—and it is impossible to form an idea of the wretchedness occasioned by the system pursued. No less than 12,000 workmen were sent at one time, from the Cairo manufactories to the camp of Toura, where they were exercised. This circumstance caused great consternation in their families. The women, as a sign of grief, stained their hands with indigo, and the poorest, with mud. They roamed about the streets, uttering piercing cries, and tearing their hair; and they did not hesitate to make their appearance on the drill-ground, as often as they could. The vacancies left in the manufactories were filled up by Copts, who are the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, and now, Christians.‡ Of

* A letter from Alexandria, dated November 17th, 1840, confirms this: "We see wretched, poverty-stricken Fellah conscripts marched into Alexandria, greybeards, young men, and boys scarcely able to carry a musket, fettered together by strips of timber, and distributed to the various depôts, batteries, and public works."

† It has since been declared to the Redif, that they are to consider themselves the same as the regular troops!

‡ Many of the factories were abandoned altogether, and for a long time

the workmen above mentioned, 3,200 were sent off forthwith to complete two regiments quartered at Alexandria. The rest were commanded to garrison the citadel at Cairo, and to do the duty of the regular troops in other places. They made great progress in military tactics, being naturally apt; and besides the regular drill, they were compelled to exercise one another daily in the use of the musket; so that they soon began to rival the troops of the "Nizam," and every effort was made to inspire them with nationality; in some instances with success. The period appointed as the full service of the "Redif" is *nominally* twenty-two years; at the expiration of which time, they are to be set at liberty. They are *promised* five piastres per month, and after six months' service, twenty piastres! The officers of the militia are chiefly opulent men, and they are allowed to wear the "Nizam" uniform, as a mark of rank; but some of them gave themselves such airs in consequence, that (to show the estimation in which they were held,) Mohammed Ali very unceremoniously ordered "their beards to be shaved off," to distinguish them from the regular troops! The order was immediately obeyed! A seller of corn proposed to the Pascha, to raise fourteen regiments at Cairo, instead of eight, a display of zeal which elevated him to the rank of colonel; and in the event of his succeeding, he was to become a Pascha of two tails! *

previously, those employed in them, were fed on bad bread, and the flesh of animals that had died of disease;—and even this was sold to them at an exorbitant price.

* Others have since followed his example, though not with equal success;—but they have extorted money from the people to an enormous extent, (without the Pascha's knowledge,) as an indemnity for service! Mohammed Ali caused one man to be severely bastinadoed for trying to kidnap the servants of the Franks in this way.

The Turkish shopkeepers of Cairo and Alexandria were very indignant when they understood that *they* were to be included in the "Redif;" and phlegmatic as they are, refused to co-operate with the Arab militia,—so great was the national enmity which existed between them. They were therefore organized as a distinct body. This was, nevertheless, a dangerous policy; for these people had *always* enjoyed a practical exemption from personal servitude, and were almost as much at their ease as the Franks,—save in the matter of taxation, a point which the Pascha never overlooks. Such pitiful conscripts, were they even attached to their master, could be of little use, one would think, where active service was required; seeing that they were indifferently supported by experienced soldiers: but the Pascha was three years and a half in arrears with most of his regular army, and the veteran troops, who were all truly devoted to the cause of Ibrahim, were at this time, chiefly in Syria, or scattered.

On the 10th of October 1840, a battle took place between the allies, and the combined forces of Ibrahim and Suleyman Pascha (Colonel Selves), near Beyrout, in which the latter were so completely routed, that their leaders retreated to the mountains, with only 200 cavalry and two officers. The number of men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, was above 7000; and on the same night, Beyrout was taken by the English. Up to this period, the Egyptian army had lost in deserters, killed, and wounded, upwards of 20,000 men, not including the 15,000 Druses which now went over to the allies with the emir Beschir. The Emir el Kassim was appointed successor to the Emir Beschir, who being very aged, retired with his family to Malta. (See Appendix.)

Caiffa was taken on the 20th, after a slight resistance; and on the 26th, Sidon,—which was the Pascha's chief depôt of arms, ammunition and stores; and one of the strongest military positions on the coast. Here the Egyptians lost 300 killed, and 2,470 were taken, (including some sick,) and sent back to D'jouni. Lieutenant Hocking, a young man of great enterprise and promise, was the only English officer who suffered. He fell whilst bravely leading on a storming party, together with six or eight marines, and blue jackets, and about as many Turks. Tripoli and Tarsous soon followed; and on the third of November, the bombardment of Acre. This was a most terrific affair. "During the attack," writes the Admiral, "the principal magazine blew up in consequence of a well directed shell from the "Gorgon" steam-frigate: (Captain W. Henderson.) By the explosion, two entire regiments, formed in position on the ramparts, were annihilated, and every living creature within the area of 60,000 square yards ceased to exist; the loss of life being variously computed at from 1,200, to 2000 persons. Those who may have been inclined to doubt the fighting qualities of the Egyptian troops, might acquire a lesson from the example of their endurance, if they could but contemplate the devastation and scene of horror by which this once formidable fortress is enshrouded. The moral influence on the cause in which we are engaged, that will result from its surrender, is incalculable."* I suppose there never was an instance known of naval gunnery superior to that displayed on this occasion. Such a cannona-

* Extract from the dispatches of Colonel Sir Charles F. Smith, commanding the forces in Syria; and from the Admiral, Sir Robert Stopford.

ding has seldom before been heard, and on no occasion on record, were fewer shots wasted. The "Princess Charlotte" alone fired 4,508 balls, or one broadside every two minutes, for 86 rounds; and during the same period, the "Bellerophon" consumed 14,033 lbs. or 160 barrels of powder, and 26 tons weight of metal. 20,000 shot and shell were discharged in the course of three hours and a half. The force of shipping employed, was quite disproportionate to the immense strength of this redoubted fortress, which baffled Buonaparte and a French army, and which has undergone both in ancient and modern history, more numerous and desperate sieges than perhaps any other in the world. It fell into the hands of Ibrahim Pascha in 1832, and was rebuilt and strengthened by French engineers. It was defended by 460 guns of the heaviest calibre, which on this occasion were worked by *French* bombardiers. "But," writes one who was present, "knowing the customers we had to deal with, our guns were fought in good earnest, pouring broadside upon broadside into the fortress, with a rapidity and steadiness not surpassed by any thing we read of in our naval history. The enemy's shot flew over our heads, and damaged our rigging, but very few struck the hulls of the vessels, and of course did little mischief, the total loss being twenty-three killed, and fifty wounded: whereas, the Egyptians had 2,500 killed, an immense number wounded, and lost 3,500 prisoners; besides 3,000 which were brought in by the mountaineers, and nearly as many who afterwards marched back and gave up their arms. A most hideous spectacle presented itself the next day. The spot on which the explosion took place was like the crater of a volcano.—Heaps of

dying and dead, variously mutilated, were to be seen; the cattle shared the fate of their owners, and the whole town was a mass of ruins. About 1,200 horses were seized, and an enormous quantity of stores and matériel was found, exceeding what has been expended in the warfare on the coast of Syria, and estimated at little short of £100,000; among the ordnance, a splendid park of artillery of 200 guns in first-rate order, besides 120 that were mounted on the walls, from twenty-four to eighty-four pounders, and sixty large mortars. There was, moreover, a great quantity of specie; and an astonishing number of shot and shell piled up by the side of each gun."—Colonel Schultz (a Pole) denominated "Youssouff Agah," the chief engineer of the Syrian army, was seriously wounded, and taken prisoner. The defence of the place had been entrusted to him, and he declared that no men could have stood their ground better than the Egyptians did; but, he added, "the firing from the ships was so tremendous, that it was impossible that any human power could work the guns, especially as all the smoke blew directly in their faces, and they could scarcely see what they were about."*

At the commencement of the action, the garrison consisted of upwards of 6000 men, and it was capable of sustaining a siege of six or eight months. The incredibly short time in which it was taken, has made

* Besides the smoke, another circumstance tended to render the Egyptian firing ineffectual. Captain Boxer of the "Pique," went over-night to take soundings. He laid down buoys, and the garrison supposed the squadron would anchor outside of them; but to their surprise, they brought-to *within* the buoys, close under the walls. The smoke prevented them altering the bearing of the guns; "Otherwise," as the Duke of Wellington subsequently remarked in the House of Lords, "although this must be considered as one of the most splendid achievements of modern times, it is not *usual* to combat stone walls so successfully!"—See Appendix.

an impression on the minds of the whole Syrian population, which will never be effaced. It has effectually established British influence in the Mediterranean. When the Pascha first heard that Acre had fallen, he became extremely low-spirited and taciturn; especially as he could gain no tidings of Ibrahim, or of Suleyman Pascha, and his communication with Damascus was effectually cut off,—the inhabitants of Nablous and the Houran being up in arms against him, his own people discontented, and the confidence of the Bedoueens began to be shaken. He gave orders for the combined fleets to prepare to leave the harbour without delay; and then assembled his ministers. The French Consul-general, Monsieur Cochelet, was also summoned, and as usual, recommended him to *wait* the arrival of the French steamer from Toulon. "I will wait no longer for France," said he, in a tone which he had never before been known to use,—"I have waited too long already. France has been the cause of all my embarrassment. What have I gained by following your advice? Nothing! and I have lost the whole coast of Syria! Henceforth, I will be fooled no longer by France—I will now act for myself." This was a singular out-break for the Pascha, whose prudence and politeness seldom permit him to shew his temper. The Consul, however, was quite cool; and at last persuaded him to "wait awhile:"—the sailors continued busy in the "tops," but there was no sign of preparation for sailing.

The unfavourable turn which events had taken by the 11th of November, induced Mohammed Ali to adopt a different course. He perceived that the great struggle for independence would now be in Egypt, and he resolved to make a last and desperate stand on

the coast. He hurried on the fortifications, inspected every thing himself, and wrote to Cairo to prevent the reinforcements setting off to Syria, which were to have consisted of 6000 troops from the Hed'jaz, and 1000 Bedoueens, with camels and stores in proportion. These were ordered to repair *forthwith* to Alexandria, and he dispatched messengers to ferret out Ibrahim and Suleyman, with instructions to concentrate their forces, and join him *without loss of time*. He summoned the tribes also in the vicinity of the Red Sea, and all those troops that were "en route" from Arabia to Cosseir. He then tried to ingratiate himself with the Frank merchants, by paying all his debts, and by permitting the English mails to proceed without interruption to India:—he even granted letters of safe conduct for them, and a kavaass to see his orders enforced;—a line of policy resembling that of the "wise steward" in the parable; for at this very time, he was eighteen months in arrears with his army and navy! The next thing that occurred to perplex him, was the arrival at Cairo of the wounded from Syria. Dead men tell no tales,—but the sick and destitute can be very eloquent. Schemes were had recourse to, for the purpose of imposing upon the credulous Arabs, and a report was circulated, that 2000 English prisoners had been taken, and were on their way to Cairo. But it would not do;—the truth will out—even in Egypt!

He then evinced great anxiety to establish military communications between Cairo and Damascus; and an attempt was made to determine by a circuitous route, a line of sixty-four telegraph stations, over mountain and desert;—but this could not be accomplished: for the passes and high roads were all beset

by the native tribes, who, emboldened by the success of the English, were now attempting to restore their former independence, or to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them of plundering caravans. They seized the couriers and escorts whenever they could, and disposed of their steeds at the nearest place. Fine Arabian coursers were selling at Beyrout, Sidon, and Botroun, for two and four pounds each. Many of the "Redif" deserted, fearing lest they should be marched off to join the army in the absence of more effective troops. When retaken, they were most cruelly bastinadoed. No Arab was permitted to quit the town, under any pretence, without a written permission; and whenever any man presented himself at the gates, the sentries were compelled to ascertain whether his arms exhibited the usual marks borne by soldiers and sailors,—just as if the place were in a state of siege. The Bedoueens of the tribe of Beni Ali, who are the acknowledged guardians of the Libyan Desert, had strict orders to arrest all who came in their way, and if they made the least resistance, to fire upon them. Thus, whenever the natives fled to the Desert, almost certain death awaited them; numbers perished in this manner. Thirty poor creatures who were taken, were condemned to work as slaves on board the ships for life. A strong breeze setting in from the Desert, brought a great deal of sickness,—which is not to be wondered at, when we bear in mind the want of sewers, and the filthy, and even crowded state of the city. It was literally crammed with people. To render matters worse, the plague made its appearance in the fleet; and although many deaths had occurred, the men were sent ashore to work in the dock-yard and batteries by day, regardless of consequences; and they were com-

pelled to return at night, lest they should be tempted to desert. So little did Mohammed Ali contemplate surrendering the fleet, notwithstanding the severe lesson which he had been taught, and his seeming contrition, that he even provided uniforms and clothing for the Turkish crews at an *enormous* expense, that they might be identified and incorporated with his own marine.* There was now apparently a cessation of hostilities on the part of his opponents, but no want of energy. The fact is, that being reluctant to proceed to extremities, well knowing what the result would be, and how terrible a sacrifice of life it must occasion, the English paused, to give the Pascha time to reflect; but they sent in a formal declaration to the merchants, that the coast would be blockaded on the 20th of November. This being the season of the Rhamad'han, the great Mohammedan fast, which is generally distinguished by hilarity, harmony, and good-will, as well as by devotional exercises, the more pious attended the mos'ques as usual; salutations were performed; the streets were thronged throughout the night; and the bazaars continued open as in more peaceable times. But there were these peculiar features in the case, from the 1st to the 19th more especially, which to the authorities was a period of anxious suspense;—soldiers were hourly marching into the town—recruits were drilling in every open space—no

* It happened ludicrously enough, that just about this time, letters arrived from the Porte, appointing Saieed Pascha, High Admiral, and Mustapha, Qy'-machan of the fleet. When the announcement was made, the Viceroy laughed outright; and we are told, sent Mustapha his nomination by the same officer who brought the message. Mustapha hastened to the palace, when the Pascha declared that "he alone had brought the fleet into its present good condition, and that his business was *not done yet*." From this moment, the old Capoudan Pascha laid aside his uniform; nevertheless, he continued to hold *secret* conference with Mohammed Ali.

person was allowed to pass the gates—men were occupied in all directions, leading donkeys laden with stores and ammunition—huge piles of shot and shell were raised upon the ramparts—the arsenal was in a constant bustle; and at intervals, there was heard the roaring of artillery, owing to the frequent exercising of the guns. Nevertheless, the people were to be seen at night, eating and drinking, and telling their beads, chanting hymns, and engaging in obscene amusements, fatalists as they are,—although they were in hourly expectation of being besieged, and every thing in Alexandria gave "dreadful note of preparation." Probably they looked forward to the attack of the English as the signal for a general rising, and the period of their deliverance! Mohammed Ali, it is said, had still a secret understanding with France; he retained his composure,—tried to rouse the more rigid enthusiasts, and represented himself as the defender of the Mussulmaun Faith: but this he had often done before.* He now assigned to the officers their respective posts, signified his intention of commanding in person, and appeared more resolute than ever. He succeeded in inspiring some of them with the same feeling; when, suddenly, the news arrived that M.

* The Ottoman "State Gazette," of the 23rd of Rh'amazan (18th November,) contains the following article. "When on Sunday, the 15th of November, the standard taken from Mohammed Ali was exhibited in the assembly of the Muftis, for the general inspection of the officers, it appeared that above the words 'There is no God, but God, and Mohammed is his prophet'—the words 'Ali the Lion of God,' were inscribed. Hence, it is clear, that Mohammed Ali Pascha places the Khaliphe Ali above the person of the Prophet; or that the Pascha attributes to himself the qualities and conduct of Ali. Both are very useful; and it is evident that Mohammed Ali Pascha, and his son Ibrahim Pascha, have already received and will further receive their rewards for such presumption! After the assembly had blessed His Majesty the Sultan, it was resolved that the standard should be exposed to the view of all the inhabitants from one of the windows of the sepulchre of the late Sultan, thereby to give new occasion for the continued prayers for prosperity." &c.

Thiers, the French Prime Minister, had been *dismissed!* This was like a thunderbolt upon him. Immediately the full truth dawned upon his understanding. The men in power saw that they had been completely duped, and that nothing was now to be expected from those, who, we may say, had brought the Pascha into this dilemma. The French papers always find their way to Egypt. What then must Mohammed Ali have thought, when the following extract from the speech of M. Thiers upon the occasion of the address, was read to him? "If the Pascha of Egypt *submits*,—that is, if he submits *sufficiently early*, he may *perhaps* be left hereditary possession of Egypt!"—Such language from a man on whom he had reposed all his hopes, and at such an alarming crisis! His golden dreams must now have been at an end; his heart must have failed him, though he did not choose to shew it;—and the result proved that it did.

The threatened blockade commenced on the 21st of November, which happened to be the first day of the Bairam, the feast which follows immediately upon the Rhamad'han. It lasts three days, and is always ushered in by the roaring of cannon. Commodore Napier arrived off the port in the "Powerful" (84) on the 20th; the following morning, at day-break, three royal salutes were fired, of twenty-one guns each, and the fleet in the harbour swung their top-masts and top-gallant-masts up, and cross royal yards, firing at the same time a royal salute, and "dressing in colours," and each night, the ships were all brilliantly illuminated. On the 22nd, the Commodore sent in a flag of truce by Captain Maunsell, of the "Rodney" (92), accompanied by Lieut. Scott. These gentlemen entered

the harbour without opposition, on board the "Medea" steam-frigate, and being the bearers of the Commodore's letters, pulled direct to the palace stairs. They were conducted by Boghos Bey immediately to the Pascha, who recollected Captain Maunsell when he commanded the "Alfred," and to whom he had presented a valuable sword,—eight years previously. He was well received: Mohammed Ali placed a carriage and horses at his disposal; and as, during Rhamad'han, it is not usual for the Osmanlis to pay or receive visits until after the first repast (viz. at sunset), the deputation retired to the house of Mr. Larkin, the British Consul, where, in the evening, they had a regular audience with the Pascha. The letters were written with the best of feeling; they pointed out to the Viceroy all his "bad luck," and the folly of any further attempt at resistance. They then advised him in the most friendly and sincere manner, not to give the Sultan any further trouble; promising, on the part of the Allies, that if he would withdraw his army from Syria, send back the ships, and renounce his pretensions to Candia and the Holy Cities, they would intercede in his behalf, and use their utmost influence at the "Sublime Porte," to insure him future protection, and, if possible, the *hereditary* possession of Egypt; but that if he did not —if he persisted in his present course,—there remained but one alternative—the Admirals must do their duty; and his final overthrow would be inevitable. They further admonished him to this effect:—"Be wise in time. Now is the appointed hour; you will not have another opportunity. Remember Acre! Everything depends on your decision. You do not yet know the English: they would be your friends — let them! Trust, and fear not!"

A long consultation ensued, and several communications afterwards passed between Boghos, the Viceroy, and the Commodore. At last, the Pascha pledged his word that he would surrender the fleet, "as soon as the necessary firmauns arrived from Constantinople concerning him;" and that, in the mean time, he would nominate individuals to proceed on board an English armed steamer to Syria, for the purpose of recalling his son. The open, manly conduct of Sir Charles Napier cannot be too much praised; but in this transaction, his sailor-like frankness and generosity rather prompted him to exceed his orders. He admired Mohammed Ali's character and indomitable, unflinching spirit, and evidently wished to serve him; but, by holding out such expectations on his own responsibility, he incurred the risk of injuring his cause, as the sequel proved; for the Admiral, Sir Robert Stopford, could not at first sanction the convention. He felt it necessary to inform the Commodore that he had been premature; that he had no authority to take such a step;—and of course the whole proceeding was *nullified.* But in a few days, after he had investigated the subject, and was furnished with full powers, he found himself in a position to make similar overtures; and believing, from all that had transpired, that the Pascha would now keep his faith, he promised to *recommend* him to the friendly and lenient consideration of the Porte,—provided he fulfilled *all* the conditions *without delay.* There had been a great deal of correspondence; dispatches were continually passing between the Bosphorus and the Nile; but the Sultan's communications, although treated with outward respect by him, were always slighted; and he invariably turned a deaf ear to the expostulations of the Divan. The Viceroy was

now assured that such temporising would not do with the English; and he began to understand that he *must* make up his mind. He listened attentively to all that was said, and again declared himself willing to comply with the terms proposed, "as soon as proper persons were sent to guarantee the ratification of the treaty." Some doubt of the Pascha's sincerity, however, seemed to be entertained by the Ottoman Ministers; for he had so often "laughed at their beards," that they ceased to believe him capable of anything but deceit; and when, on the 16th of December, Her Majesty's steamer "Megæra" arrived at Constantinople, bringing a letter full of assurances of submission, as plausible and unexceptionable as all those which at various times, had preceded them, they regarded it as "another trick,"—a cunningly-devised scheme to elude their grasp. But the Sultan Medgid was not now to be duped by empty words and professions; he declared that he would "be satisfied only by the unconditional restoration of the fleet, and the speedy evacuation of Syria." This feeling was very natural; the conduct of his ambitious Viceroy had hastened his father's death; and however determined he might have become, his Highness still regarded him as a vassal and a rebel, on whom no reliance could be placed; and now that he was in his power, he resolved to punish and subdue him. In this he was joined by many who were doubtless influenced by private motives. Nevertheless, they were compelled to listen to the dictation of those who held the balance, and were able to turn the scale. A conference was immediately held with the European Ministers at Therapia; divans were called, and every indulgence that could reasonably be expected, was finally granted to the Viceroy.

It was for some time reported that the Sultan would permit the Paschalic of Egypt to descend to one generation only, viz. to his son; then it was said that he was to be invested with the *civil* power, but that he was to give up all authority in regard to *military* matters, abandon the fortifications to Turkish officers, send Egyptian troops to Turkey, receiving in lieu of them Turkish regiments into Egypt;—and so in like manner with the marine,—that he was to place his own fleet, as well as that which he had so long detained, at the *entire disposal* of his master. According to such a plan, it is obvious that the Pascha's life would not have been safe *one hour*. In the end, the hereditary command of Egypt was ceded to Mohammed Ali.

During this interval of uncertainty, the Pascha continued to arm, increase his Redif, and make preparations for the most obstinate resistance, in case his suit should be rejected. He tried to stipulate that certain persons against whom his animosity was kindled should be put down; but in this he was disappointed, and his spirits began to flag; for a crisis was at hand, and he evidently felt himself at the mercy of his enemies. He became indifferent to all new projects, and declared that "things might take their chance." Having been checked in his military career, he appeared to regard everything else as beneath him. He was undecided, yet desperate. At length his resolution entirely failed; and, urged by the advice of his secret counsellor, Boghos, and the combined influence of Sir Robert Stopford, Commodore Napier, Captain Maunsell, and others, who depicted before his eyes the utter hopelessness of his condition, if he attempted to defer it,—he submitted to the decrees of "destiny." This was a hard nut for a toothless old man to crack, and very

difficult to digest; but he gulped it down at once, and *magnanimously* threw himself upon the generosity of the four great powers.

On the 11th of January, 1841, the Imperial firmaun, appointing Mohammed Ali hereditary Pascha of Egypt, was dispatched from Constantinople; and on the 14th the Pascha signified to the English, that the fleet was ready for sea, and would set sail "as soon as a person was officially sent to receive it." The dates prove this act to have been spontaneous on the part of the Viceroy,—he being at that time ignorant of the Sultan's final determination concerning him. The vessel which brought the supplementary instructions, together with a "Hatti Scheriff," dated the same day, arrived at Alexandria on the 17th. This had, at all events, the appearance of good faith on both sides; for no promise, or even encouragement, had been held out by any party, that the Porte, which had formally deposed Mohammed Ali, and denounced him as a rebel, would afterwards revoke the sentence. However, at the instigation of the Allies, after various doubts and misgivings, explanations and intercessions, a free pardon was granted, and the Viceroy was created hereditary Pascha of Egypt. A firmaun was then issued, empowering Walker Bey to receive the Ottoman fleet, and join the Turkish Admiral at Marmorice.*

On the 9th of January, the "Stromboli" steamer arrived at Alexandria with Commodore Napier, bring-

* This gentleman had just been exalted to the high dignity of a Pascha, under the cognomen "Yawer," which signifies "fidus sodalis,"—an associated friend; or, as some translate it, "a friend from above;" but we cannot suppose that the Divan intended such an interpretation to be put upon it. In consideration of the distinguished services which our countryman had rendered to the Porte, he had also been made *second* only to the Capoudan Pascha, in command of the Turkish fleet.

ing important dispatches for the Viceroy. His Highness was at the time, walking in the garden of Signor Gibara, and was not a little excited at the anticipation of what was to follow, although he feigned an air of the most Stoical indifference. He hastened to the palace, to receive the British Envoy and Boghos Youssouff. The dispatches referred chiefly to the Pascha's act of submission, and the fact that the English Ministry could not *guarantee* the hereditary possession of Egypt to the Pascha, but that they would *recommend* it, as England did not wish to interfere with the administrative affairs of another country. A letter from Admiral Stopford to Boghos Bey, announced that the Pascha's submission had been accepted, and referred to the arrangements for the evacuation of Syria by the Egyptian troops. It stated also, that the British Cabinet approved of the convention made by Commodore Napier and Mohammed Ali. The very next morning, an order was drawn up for preparations relative to the departure of the fleet; and on the 11th, Hamed Bey was dispatched to Beyrout, with orders for Ibrahim Pascha to retire immediately from Syria.

On Sunday, the 10th, the "Iskudar," (or Scutari) steamer arrived at 3 P.M. with Admiral Walker, or rather Yawer Pascha, and Masloum Bey (that is, "the sweet-tempered") a Moustachar, or Lord of the Admiralty, whose mission was, "to receive the fleet, and hand it over to Yawer Pascha,—to see Syria fairly evacuated,—and to take possession of Arabia, and the Holy Cities, in the name of the Sublime Porte." In the evening, the Commissioners were well received by the Pascha, who informed them, that before their arrival, he had taken measures to comply with the Sultan's views, thereby anticipating the object of their mission;

but he was not a little indignant when told that the fleet was to be surrendered to Admiral Walker. "Ah!" he exclaimed, "it is to be given up to Yawer Pascha, then!"—laying a most venomous emphasis on the *giaour's* new title;—"but you have only to arrange that with Commodore Napier."

The next day, (the 11th) a most extraordinary and grotesque transport evinced itself on board the Turkish ships, at the idea of once more returning to their families:—they jumped, and capered, hugged and kissed one another, it is said, more like Frenchmen than Turks; and they made the most unusual exertions to get the ships under weigh, lest the order should be *countermanded.*

The steamers were busily engaged, during the 19th, 20th, and 21st, in towing the vessels outside the reef. So much activity prevailed, that the fleet was under sail in ten days after the firmaun was read for its restoration,—one-half of the time in which the Egyptian Admiral declared it *possible* to accomplish it. Intelligence soon after arrived, that Ibrahim had reached Gaza with the remains of his army, and was exposed to the incursions of the Bedoueen Arabs, and a division of the Turks, who were panting for revenge, well knowing his sick and helpless condition, and threatening to annihilate him. A large reinforcement was immediately sent to his assistance, with money and provisions; and the Pascha's steamer "Nile" was dispatched to bring the General himself to Alexandria. Subsequently, the Viceroy, accompanied by Commodore Napier, visited Cairo, and further arrangements were entered into relative to future commercial transactions, which, if properly followed out, must, sooner or later, benefit Egypt, promote the cause of civilization, up-

hold British influence in the Levant, establish a free and safe communication with India, and contribute greatly to the peace of Europe. Indeed, I cannot conclude these remarks without expressing my admiration of the noble, generous, and philanthropic behaviour of those who were personallly concerned in negociating with Mohammed Ali. They displayed considerable talent, zeal, and discrimination; and they not only shewed themselves ready when called upon to risk their lives in support of their country's cause, but proved that they were equally desirous to preserve peace, discipline, and good order, by all the means in their power; and to exercise their authority, in every way conducive to the permanent benefit and happiness of their fellow-creatures. Whatever laurels a truly brave man may gain by his intrepidity amid the roaring of cannon, either in the field or on the ocean, he must always regret the means by which they are obtained; and he will account them as nothing in comparison of the blessings which the objects of his benevolence solicit of the Divine Being in his behalf.

From this period, the Pascha began to be heartily tired of the French and their engineering. He openly avowed that, with one or two exceptions, he had no longer any confidence in them; not that they were wanting in talent, but because they were always ready to take his money, and humour his caprices, let the work be what it might, without pointing out to him the difference between theory and practice. He would not listen to the friendly admonitions of poor Galloway Bey on these subjects, because he was so wrapped up in the French; but he has since discovered his mistake; and a short time ago, he consulted an English engineer about the possibility of constructing a dry dock, which

his late employés persuaded him could be formed among the mud in the western harbour.

As soon as his Highness was relieved of the suspense and anxiety attending the precarious state of his affairs, he bethought himself of the future. Judging that there was an end to all naval ambition, at least for a season, he pensioned off several of the officers, who deserted the Sultan, talked about reducing his marine, and of distributing different estates or districts of land among his Grandees, to be cultivated by them, (more properly by the disbanded seamen and the fellahs, the nominal owners being little better than *overseers*,) and he declared that he should henceforth devote his entire energies to agriculture,—thus leaving off where he ought to have begun! One of the chief benefits likely to arise out of Sir Charles Napier's representations to the Pascha, was the cleansing and purification of Alexandria. Cases of plague, dysentery, and fever were continually occurring, and little attempt was made to ascertain the cause; but the Authorities have since received orders to remove all the filthy accumulations of the city, and to sweep away the wretched hovels of the Fellaheen Arabs, which, constructed as they are, form invariably so many hot-beds of contagion. It is only wonderful that the plague should ever cease. There are no proper drains, and the exhalations arising from the more dense parts of the town, where there is little or no ventilation, are of the most noxious and pestilential character.*

The British squadron, having brought matters in the Levant to something like order, (as far, at least, as they had instructions to interfere,) raised the blockade of Alexandria, and retired to Marmorice Bay for the

* See Chapters II. and III.; also Vol. II. Chapter IV.

rest of the winter. Here they experienced one very severe gale; two of the ships sustained some mischief, and for a time, were in danger of going ashore. Nevertheless, English seamanship reigned triumphant, and gave abundant proof that it *is* possible for large vessels to keep afloat on the rocky coasts of Karamania and the shelving shores of Libya, in spite of Tremontana gales, and Sirocco hurricanes!

Marmora, or Marmorice, is situated N.N.E., twenty miles from Rhodes, in the S.W. corner of Asia Minor. I passed over to the main, from the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes to Castello Rosso, the "Seven Caps," and Marmora. The scenery is very beautiful. The whole coast is indented with gulfs and bays, and altogether, *not the best in the world* to make a lee shore of. Rhodes has no harbour; the anchorage is open, uncertain, and dangerous in bad weather. The whole range of Karamania is very lofty, and to a sailor would have a black and repulsive appearance, and the Gulf of Adalia is considered the Biscay of the Levant. Many ships are lost there, especially if carried into the Bay by a strong south-westerly gale; for there is no place to run for; and as it seldom happens that they can bring to, they go ashore. When it is blowing hard from the north or north-east, which it often does, the wind rushes down the deep ravines of Mount Taurus from almost every point of the compass at the same time, producing something very like a whirlpool, which nothing can resist; whereas, six or eight miles out, the true wind, which passes over the *tops* of the mountains, alone is felt. The Greeks know this, and avoid the Gulf as they would Scylla and Charybdis. Marmorice Bay is what may be termed a "blind, or hidden harbour:" it is encircled by high hills, and

nearly closed in by a peninsula, which stretches from east to west, leaving a channel into the anchorage, of a quarter of a mile wide, and nearly a mile long. Inside, it is like an immense bowl, and looks as if it were designed to receive all the rain of Asia Minor, which at certain seasons, is hurried down from the mountains, in torrents, rivers, and cataracts.

I have thus been permitted to record the leading events of the Pascha's history, and to illustrate by what extraordinary means he rose from obscurity to wealth and distinction. It must be obvious to all who reflect, that he has been a chosen vessel in the hands of Him who *alone* is "worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power,—who hath created *all things*, and for whose pleasure they are, and were created." The ways of the Almighty are inscrutable to us; but they are just and merciful. We certainly do live in most eventful times. The truths of Divine Revelation are every day being developed; the "Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David hath prevailed;"—"the Lamb which was slain" hath unfolded to us the mystery of the Providence of God! Great things are even now coming to pass;—the sun and the moon may be darkened—the floods and the winds may rage—the hail and the rain may descend, and divers plagues may come,—mountains may literally be removed, and cast into the depths of the sea,—the thunders may roll, and the foundations of the earth may be shaken—the habitations of man may be thrown down, and the things in which he most delighted may be consumed like chaff in the furnace—false prophets may arise—persecutions and blasphemies may increase—and "the spirits of devils may go forth to summon the rulers of

the earth to battle"—we may hear of wars, and rumours of wars, and the kingdoms may be changed: —these and many other *terrible* things may happen in our generation; they have been foretold from the beginning: but let us neither be cast down nor dismayed: the end is not yet;—we may rest assured, that "the sickle will not be put in before the harvest is fully ripe," and the predictions of the Prophets have *all* been fulfilled! See the Revelations of St. John, especially chap. iv. to xviii.—See also St. Matthew's Gospel, chap. xxiv. and xxv.*

* Fulfilment of Prophecy.—The following remarkable reference to the present state of the Ottoman Empire, as a signal fulfilment of prophecy, is extracted from a letter of a correspondent to the *Standard*:—"It is the opinion of the vast majority of commentators on prophecy, that we are now living under the 'Sixth Vial.' The Sixth Angel is now pouring out his vial upon the 'great river Euphrates,' by which the Ottoman Empire is symbolised; 'and the water thereof is drying up, that the way of the Kings of the East may be prepared.' (Rev. xvi. 12.) The drying up of a mighty river exactly describes the wasting away of the Turkish Empire in the present day. I believe that the Ottoman Empire will be annihilated in 1872, which is 'a time, times, and a half,' (Dan. xii. 7,) or 1260 years from 612, when the Mohammedan 'abomination of desolation' was publicly set up. 'The second,' or Turkish 'woe' will then terminate. (Rev. xi. 14.) I believe that the year 1844, which is only five years from the present time, will be a fatal year to Turkey. It is the 1260th year from the Hegira, according to Mohammedan calculation. It is remarkable that the 13th of June, 1844, is 'an hour, a day, a year,' (Rev. xi. 15,) or 391 years and 15 days from the 29th of May, 1453, when the Turks took Constantinople. This renders it probable that the 13th of June, 1844, will be a fatal day for Turkey. It appears that the downfall of the Ottoman Empire will be the signal for universal war, and will prepare the way for the return of the Jews to their own land."

APPENDIX.

EASTERN LETTERS, SIGNATURES, AND SEALS.*

ORIENTAL epistles are sometimes very curious productions: they are plain or ornamented, long or short, according to the rank of the individual to whom they are written, and the object of the address; but they are always complimentary. It is usual to leave a broad margin, and not to begin for at least *two-thirds* of the paper. We are informed that in the thirteenth century, some of the Tartar Princes of Asia, relations of the Eastern Monarchs, wrote letters which were from two to nine feet in length; and that Tamerlan, wishing to shew a great compliment to one of the Egyptian Sultans, sent him a letter which was *seventy* feet long! It is moreover recorded, that the letters addressed by the Kings of Persia to Louis XIV. measured three feet. In Turkey, the Authorities use on State occasions, paper which is much larger; and the letters which the Sultan and the Grand Vizier have at different times dispatched to the Crowned Heads of Europe, were sometimes seven feet long. It must not be supposed that these diplomatic documents were so verbose as to cover the paper, although always couched in adulatory terms: but the most punctilious observance is invariably paid to titles, and these are distinguished by particular colours; the name is put in the most conspicuous place, and it is considered a very marked compliment to emblazon it forth in gold letters. The signature of the Sultan is called "Togra," and it is the same as we see upon the coin of the Empire. The Orientals use no locks, but seals. We learn from history that the ancients sealed every thing which appertained to the State, as well as to wealth: (see Esther, chap. iii.) and to "give up the seal," was to give up all power:—it was the custom of the Doges of Venice, when they commenced their reign, to "wed the Adriatic" by means of a ring:—and in the present day, to "lose a ring," more especially a *signet-ring*, is considered a very bad omen.

* Vide Vol. I. p. 322, and Vol. II. p. 5.

AN ACCOUNT OF MOHAMMED ALI'S DOMESTIC CIRCLE.*

Mohammed Ali, born in 1769, at Cavala, brought with him from his native place one wife, Amina *Kh'anum*;† she bore him four children, of whom two, viz., Toussoun Pascha and Ismael, are dead; and two living, viz., Ibrahim Pascha, aged 52 years, and Nazly *Kh'anum*, aged 46, widow of the Defterdar, Mohammed Bey, who has no children. Amina *Kh'anum*, now dead, is described as having been a most amiable woman, to whose good temper and invariable kindness Mohammed Ali owes much. As the Mohammedan law allows four wives, and numerous concubines, Mohammed Ali, at various periods, married three other wives, now living, viz., 2. Shan Shafa *Kh'anum*, a Georgian slave, who bore him four children, all dead; 3. Nourac *Kh'anum*, also a Georgian, but no children; and 4. Selwy *Kh'alfa*‡ *Kh'anum*, a Georgian slave, mother of Zenab *Kh'anum*, now sixteen years old. Mohammed Ali has several children by Shan Pezent *Kh'alfa*, from Abassa, near Georgia; he is father of Said Bey, now 20 years old; by Manthas *Kh'alfa*, a Russian slave, he has Hussein Bey, fifteen years old; by Shan Shacher *Kh'alfa*, a Circassian slave, a boy of twelve years called Aly Bey; by Zeeha *Kh'alfa*, a Georgian, he has Halim Bey, eleven years old; by Zelpha *Kh'alfa*, lately raised to the rank of fourth wife, and who resides at Alexandria, he is the father of Iskander (Alexander in Turkish), so called from the city of his birth; by a Georgian slave named Zipha *Kh'alfa* he had a son called Mohammed Ali, born in 1836, during his visit to Candia, and he is said to have other slaves pregnant. His Harem is arranged on the most magnificent, yet most orderly style; there are between 90 and 100 of the most beautiful slaves to be found in the East, and twelve musicians and twelve dancers, all girls under 15 years of age, who are taught, the former to play on every sort of instrument, and the latter to dress in the costume of every nation, and to dance according to the costume. There are at least 300 females in this building, which adjoins his palace, besides between forty and fifty eunuchs, and various Arab menial slaves. When he quits the Divan and enters the Harem, one of the young slaves with a silver wand is in waiting to receive him, and upon his appearance, announces his arrival to the Assembly. He then marches through a double row to his seat, where he is complimented and *fêted*; a female secretary, taught to write well and to *keep secrets*, attends him to write his dispatches; and occasionally, others read translations of the most remarkable articles from the London and Paris papers. At night, while he sleeps, half of the fair slaves are in continual waiting, and three are stationed at his feet and three at his head, to keep away the mosquitoes

* See Vol. I. p. 404, et. seq.

† *Kh'anum* signifies Lady.

‡ *Kh'alfa* means Mistress or Superior Slave.

and flies. The utmost regularity and order are observed, and punishments, such as flogging—even death by strangulation or drowning, are inflicted, it is said, by the black eunuchs. Curiosity in looking out of the windows, &c., is one of the greatest offences. His eldest son, Ibrahim Pascha, has two wives in Cairo, but no children by them; by three favourite slaves he has three boys,—Achmet Bey, 17 years; Mustapha Bey, 14 years; and Ismael Bey, 13 years old. There are also fifty slaves in his Harem.

Mohammed Ali had twelve brothers and two sisters, all of whom are dead; by one of the latter he has three nephews—viz., 1st, Achmet Pascha, aged 38, who went to Yemen as Commander-in-Chief; and 2d, Ibrahim Pascha, aged 36, lately General of a division in Syria, and who was to go as Governor to Yemen when his brother had subjugated it fully; and 3d, Hussein Bey, who was placed at the head of the monopoly of spirits. Those three brothers have also children.

The second son of Mohammed Ali, viz., Toussoun Pascha, left at the time of his death a boy, now 36 years old, named Abbas Pascha, who is also father of several children. The third son, Ismael Pascha, burnt to death some years ago in Sennaar, left a widow, the sister of the Cadi of Cairo, appointed in 1835 by the Porte. A relation of Mohammed Ali, named Toussoun Bey, left two daughters in the Harem, besides a third married to the Admiral Osman Noureddin Pascha, who deserted. The son of the master whom Mohammed Ali served when a boy, was subsequently married to his daughter (dead without children), and is now known as Moharem Bey, who was made Governor of Alexandria.

It may be a satisfaction to persons who commiserate the fair prisoners of the Harem, all of whom value the customs of Europe, to learn that it is a frequent practice to give them as wives to officers, and that many an orison is uttered for that blessing, as they then become important in their husbands' houses.

THE EGYPTIAN CURRENCY.*

The coins of Egypt are of comparatively uncertain *real* value: the material of which they are composed being thin and flimsy, they are constantly deteriorating. The coins of Constantinople are seldom met with, and there are others which are only nominal, being referred to for convenience-sake in mercantile and Government transactions.

Gold Pieces.	Piastres.
Mahmoodiëh of Stamboul . . .	28
Kháyréëh of Stamboul . . .	40
Half Kháyréëh do. . . .	20

* See Vol. I. p. 351.

	Piastres.
Venetian Sequin	34
English Sovereign	75
A Pound sterling, according to the rate of exchange, *about*	70
Kháyréëh of Egypt . . .	9
Half Kháréëh of Egypt . . .	4

SILVER PIECES.

	Piastres.	English.
Spanish Dollar . .	15 to 16	about 4*s.* 3*d.*
Piastre = 40 Foddh'a or Parahs—that is .	.	about 3*d.*
Half Piastre = 20 do. do. and there are also pieces of 10, and pieces of 5 parahs.		

These silver coins contain *at least* half their weight of copper, and they are so light, that they are easily blown away by the wind.

	Pias.	Parahs.	
The Mahboob is a nominal sum of	3	0	Being the value of the old Mahboob and Dollar.
The Reál . .	2	10	

A Purse or "Kees" is a nominal sum of 500 Piastres, from about 5*l.* to 6*l.* English.

A "Kazneh" means a sum of twice this amount. In 1831, the Purse was estimated at about 7*l.* 3*s.*; but in consequence of the great deterioration of the coin, its actual value is now considerably reduced:—it is only estimated at 5*l.*

Memo.—On the 16th of January, 1842, the people were represented to be overwhelmed with losses sustained since Mohammed Ali's new Tariff of the Mint was issued. (See Vol. II. p. 135.) The Egyptian money became ideal only, because the merchants refused to pay in any other currency than that of Constantinople, and according to the same rate of exchange. From this it appeared that the only gainers were the Saraafs, the money-changers, and the merchants.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

There is not any standard for these used indifferently; but it is fixed in reference to the nature of the merchandise. The weights in common use are chiefly the following:—

1.—The Rotal or Rut'l, estimated at about 15¾ oz. avoirdupois. This answers to our *pound*, and it is equal to 144 dirh'ems, or drachmæ.

But a Rotal of Spun Cotton is equal to . 180 drachmæ.
A Rotal of Polished Amber contains . 105 „
And a Rotal of Syrian Silk contains . 229½ „

2.—The Oock'ckah, Ocka, or Oke, is equal to about 2¾ lbs. avoirdupois, and it contains 400 drachmæ.

But an Oke of Coral or Transparent Amber is reckoned at 420 drachmæ.

3.—The Ckunta'r, or Cantar, is equivalent to 100 Rotals. This answers to our *cwt.*, but it contains only about 98¾ lbs. avoirdupois.

But the Ckunta'r also varies according to the commodity, from 100 Rotals to 130; increasing first by 2, then to 5, then to 10, 20, and 30.

The smaller weights are used chiefly for jewels, gold, silver, and other articles of value. They are,

1. The Ckum'hhah (or grain of wheat) equal to the 64th part of a dirh'em, the 4th of a Ckeera't, and about ¼ of a grain English.
2. The Hhab'beh (or grain of barley)—the 48th part of a dirh'em—the 3rd of a Ckeera't—and equal in commerce to an English grain.
3. The Ckeera't, or Carat=4 Ckum'hhahs, 3 Hhab'behs, the 24th part of a Mitcka'l, and nearly 3 English grains.
4. The Dirh'em or Drachm is equal to from 47½ to 48 English grains.
5. The Mitcka'l (or the weight of a Deena'r) is equal to a Drachm and a half, i. e. about 72 English grains.
6. The Woockee'yeh, or Wekieh (the *ounce*) is equal to 12 drachms, the 12th part of a Rotal, or *pound*, and 576 English grains.

The Measures of Length and Land.

These are chiefly the Peek or "Dira'a:" it is of three kinds.

1. The "Dira'a Bel'edee" (the cubit) 22¾ inches. This is used for measuring Linen and other Home manufactures.
2. The "Dira'a hinda'zeh," about 25 inches. This is used chiefly for measuring Indian articles.
3. The "Dira'a Istambo'lee," about 26¼ inches. This is used for measuring European manufactures.

The "Fitr" is the space spanned by the extension of the thumb and the first finger.

The "Shibr" is that spanned by the extension of the thumb and the little finger.

The "Fedd'an" was equal to about an English acre and one-tenth formerly; but now, not quite an acre. It is about "as much as two oxen may plough in a day," and this is subdivided into 24 parts.

The "Mal'ackah," answers to our *league*, and measures about 2½, or 3 English miles. In travelling, people talk of *hours*, not distance.

Measures of Quantity.

The "Ardeb" is the only one of consequence; but it varies in different parts of Egypt: its capacity is equal generally to 5 English bushels; —from that to 8.

The "Wey'beh" is the sixth of an Ardeb.

The "Roob'a" is the fourth part of a "Wey'beh."

THE PRICE OF PROVISIONS, &c. AT ALEXANDRIA AND DAMIETTA.

	Dol.	Pias.	Parahs.
Beef of good quality, at per ocka	0	2	30
Mutton, or Lamb, per ocka	0	3	0
The largest and best sheep, (alive) each	2	0	0
Others according to the size, from 1 dollar to	0	10	0
15 Fowls	1	0	0
10 Geese	1	0	0
30 Pigeons	1	0	0
120 Quails	1	0	0
Fish, one kind with another, per ocka	0	0	6
Eggs,—in summer—900	1	0	0
Ditto—in winter—500	1	0	0
Bread, 1 ocka	0	0	15
Butter, 4 ockas	1	0	0
Rice, 1 ocka	0	1	0
A good Water Melon	0	1	0
Grain, one kind with another, but chiefly Wheat and Barley, as there are no Oats in Egypt, 90 ockas	2	7	20
Mocha Coffee, per ocka	0	7	20
The White Cheese of the country, 1 ocka	0	1	0
White Sugar,—40 ockas	15	0	0
Ditto 1 ocka	0	6	0
Olive Oil, 1 ocka	0	3	0
Onions, 1 ocka	0	0	26
Tobacco, 1 ocka, from 3 Piastres to	1	0	0
Charcoal, 1 ocka 20 to	0	0	30
Fire-wood, 100 ockas	0	7	20

	Dol.	Pias.	Parahs.
Tallow Candles, the ocka . . .	0	8	20
The best Wax, do. the ocka . . .	1	10	0
Soap, the rotal	0	1	30
Cotton of India, which is contraband, 1 ocka .	0	1	0
do. not contraband do. .	0	3	0
Cotton of Egypt, which has not paid the duty, 1 ocka	0	1	0
Cotton of Egypt, which has paid the duty, do. .	0	2	0
Most of the above are cheaper in the Interior. Dates, Herbs, Milk, &c. may be had almost for nothing.			
A House with accommodation for ten persons, per annum, . . from 30 to	60	0	0
A Greek Servant, per month . . .	2	0	0
An Arab Servant, per month . from 1 to	2	0	0
A good Cook, per month . . .	3	0	0
An Arab Drogueman who speaks three languages, per month . . from 8 to	10	0	0
A female *Housekeeper* . . about	30	0	0
One who has already been taught Housekeeping	150	0	0
A black Slave, (if a boy,) . from 12 to	25	0	0
Do. (an adult,) . from 8 to	20	0	0
A Horse of good quality . from 50 to	150	0	0
A Dongola Horse . . . about	200	0	0
A true Arabian Horse from Mekka . about	500	0	0
A sound and serviceable Ox . from 46 to	76	0	0
A Buffalo with milk . . . about	20	0	0
A good cow	8	0	0
A good Camel	25	0	0
A good Dromedary	100	0	0
Do. Mule . . from 20 to	100	0	0
Do. Donkey . . from 10 to	20	0	0
Do. Goat with young . . .	1	0	0
Furniture, and wearing apparel may be purchased at moderate prices.			

ARTICLES IMPORTED INTO EGYPT.*

From England.—Chiefly coals, machinery, metals, Glasgow shawls in imitation of those from Cashmere, and hardware.

From France.—Plain and figured muslins, calico, woollen cloths, velvet, crape, and mirrors.

* See Vol. II. p. 239—94, and Chap. VI.

From Germany.—Glass and earthenware, wine, and liqueurs, watches, clocks, straight sword-blades, and fire-arms.

From Asia Minor, and Greece.—Cherry pipe-tubes, carpets, drugs, figs, and other dried fruits, wine from Cyprus, and timber from Candia.

From Constantinople.—Brass and copper goods, many of which are of British manufacture, red slippers, worked napkins, and muslin handkerchiefs, richly embroidered in silk and gold, (used by the ladies for turbans,) amber mouth-pieces for pipes, furs, hides, tallow, silks, and female slaves from Georgia and Circassia.*

From Syria.—Chiefly tobacco from D'gebaile and Latikiah; silk, both crude and manufactured, especially scarfs for the waist, cotton articles, glass beads, leather, soap, and timber; and, lastly, coals and iron.

From the North-West Coast of Africa: viz. Tripoli, and Tunis.—The celebrated Red caps, called "Taboósches,"—also the white "Bernoos," or military cloak, made of fine wool, camels' hair, and cotton,—blankets, flannel, and other woollen garments, worn by the Bedoueens, and yellow morocco slippers.

From Surat and other parts of India.—Rich silks, cotton manufactures, and muslins, elegant Cashmere shawls, and spices from Ceylon.

From Yemen.—Coffee, spices, and perfumes, drugs, and valuable gems.

From Abyssinia, viâ D'geddah and Mekkah.—Slaves, rhinoceros-horns, gums, drugs, and ostrich feathers; besides an immense number

* SLAVERY IN TURKEY.—On this subject I will merely remark, that the Sultan's mother was a slave; the mothers of his children are all slaves; Khosrew Pascha was a slave; so was Halil Pascha, the brother-in-law of the Sultan; so was Hafiz Pascha, and so were many of the most distinguished men, and the most fortunate ladies in the Empire. Slavery in Turkey is in a very mild form. Even the black slaves are seldom or never ill treated. Before a man makes a purchase of a slave, he invariably asks him or her, "Are you content to live with me and to serve me? If so, I shall give you so many clothes, and so much pocket-money, and after serving me faithfully five or six years, you will have your liberty; whereas, if we cannot agree so long, I shall sell you to some other person with whom you can agree." Should the slave object to remain with his master, he himself has the power to go to the market, and declare he wishes to be sold. The master never opposes this, and it proves such a check upon him that he seldom dares even to scold his slave. These remarks apply to black slaves; the white slaves, if young, are adopted as the children of the house, and are treated exactly like the other children. If girls grow up handsome and accomplished, they find husbands to their liking among the Highest in the State. They are not obliged to enter any Harem except it please them, and if ill-treated, or discontented, they also can insist upon being sold.—*Malta Times*. This is quite true; and it is intended that slaves should be protected by the law; but unfortunately it is in the power of the Great to *evade* the law!

of Negro slaves, ebony, ivory, and gold-dust, which are brought by the caravans, which regularly pass to and fro, between Sennaar, the Fezzan, Darfoûr, and Cordofan.

ARTICLES EXPORTED FROM EGYPT.*

To Constantinople and Smyrna. — Negro and Abyssinian slaves, (among them some eunuchs,) Mocha coffee, hhennáh, and spices, from the East; a variety of Indian goods, and cotton.

To Syria —At present, not much; but chiefly rice, flax, grain, and cotton.

To Arabia.—Considerable supplies of corn, and comestibles generally; cotton, and some manufactured goods from Europe.

To the Upper Country: i. e. Sennaár, and the districts adjacent.—Almost every thing they require—hardware, fire-arms, carpets, gunpowder, soap, cotton, woollen and silk manufactures, linen, glass beads, &c.

To Europe. — Ivory, ostrich feathers, natron, gums, spices, senna, indigo, cotton, rice, and grain.

COPY OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE BRITISH CONSUL AT BEYROUT BY THE BRITISH MERCHANTS THERE.†

Beyrout, June 30, 1841.

Sir,—We, the undersigned British merchants, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 24th instant, requesting a report upon the working up to the present time, within our observation, or to our knowlrdge, of "the commercial convention, of 1838."

The new tariff of import duties, though not exorbitant, is prejudicial to the interests of British merchants, since the duties paid by the subjects of other nations are lower, and to British commerce, in proportion as the new duties exceed the old, the loss not being compensated for by the abolition of any monopolies, as the produce of Syria has,

* See Vol. I. p. 214—315; and Chap. iv. and vii. See also Vol. II. p. 58.

† See Vol. II. p. 150. et seq. also p. 110.

for many years, been exempted from any heavy or restrictive interior taxes.

The exports of Syria, as compared with the imports, are only very limited, consequently the difference must be made up in specie. The principal production is silk, of which a small portion is consumed in the country, and the remainder exported. As this is an article of very expensive production, and rarely produces a profit proportionable to the labour and risk of cultivation, it is natural to suppose that the new duty of 12 per cent. imposed upon it will be the cause of loss to the grower, who cannot be remunerated by the price it yields. The cultivation of silk in Europe having been greatly extended, the inferior qualities of Syrian silk are neglected by consumers, who now only buy them at a heavy reduction on former prices. The silks of Syria now pay an export duty of 12 per cent. in lieu of ½ per cent., as formerly paid, which in an equal proportion will diminish the resources of the country in paying for its imports, or, in other words, have a restrictive influence on its foreign commerce, particularly with Great Britain.

These remarks do not apply to silk alone, but equally to all articles of Syrian production and export.

It is well known that Syria has latterly furnished grain only sufficient for its consumption during a portion of the year, and is consequently forced to have recourse to importation from other countries for the means of subsistence. This article (as in all countries) can be paid for only in cash, and, being charged with an exorbitant duty, is another heavy drain on the resources of the country, which is greatly augmented by the unjust and ruinous duties levied upon grain transported from one part of Syria to another. These imposts are highly detrimental to the interests of the country and its commerce with other nations, and are the means of discouraging the extension of agriculture, for which the capabilities of the country can scarcely be surpassed. The abolition of all imposts on grain—particularly the production of the country—would be attended with the most signal benefit to the commercial resources of Syria.

Since the new treaty was put in execution, in the month of March, it has had the effect either of suspending sales, or of forcing importers to submit to the loss of the difference betwixt the old and new duties, which, consumers refusing to pay, consequently fall upon the goods imported. In exportation it has suspended transactions, to the serious prejudice of both merchants and producers, who look forward to some amelioration of the present system, as neither the producer nor the exporter can support the new export duties, in the face of present prices of Syrian exports in Europe.

In addition to the disadvantages of an increased rate of import and export duties, we believe smuggling is carried on to a considerable extent, and a large portion of the British trade being now in the hands

of natives, who consider it neither a crime nor even disreputable to be engaged in smuggling, or using means to avoid paying the duties according to the new scale, they have an advantage over the fair dealer beyond what many would consider possible.

In conclusion, we may remark, that British merchants in particular suffer from this state of things, because the subjects of other nations who have not accepted the new tariff, can buy and sell on conditions which would leave a loss to the British trader.

We have the honour to be very respectfully, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants.

To Niven Moore, Esq., Her British Majesty's
Consul, &c., Beyrout.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF CORNELIUS BRADFORD, Esq. LATE CONSUL FOR THE UNITED STATES, AT LYONS, IN FRANCE.*

I have stated that Mr. Bradford died at the Latin Convent in Jerusalem, and was buried within *two hours* after his death by the monks, who, under the pretence that he had become a convert to the Romish creed, *altered* the inscription which I and three other gentlemen placed on the tombstone which we erected to his memory on Mount Zion, and which was as follows :—

Memoriæ
Cornelii Bradford
Americæ Consulis Lugduni
Galliarum, Bostoni orti
virtutibus egregii anno XXV
ætatis suæ in Sanctâ Civitate
obiti 2do Die Augusti Anno Domini
1830
Procul patriâ, familiâ, et amicis,
amici sui comitantes hunc
exiguum et postremum pignus
amicitiæ et doloris tribuêre.

Those who visit Jerusalem will find it set forth, that he "became a convert to the true faith, and renounced the errors of his sect!" From an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Bradford's character, I here record

* Vide Vol. I. Chap. i., and Vol. II. p. 47.

my firm conviction that his principles remained *unchanged* to the last. He was a conscientious member of the Church of England—and one of the monks afterwards confessed on his death-bed, that "their efforts to convert him had *failed!*"

THE DRUSE EMIRS.*

His Highness the Emir Beschir, the celebrated Chief of Mount Lebanon, is now 87 years of age, and belongs to the ancient family of "Scha'ab." He bears the title of "Scheriff of the Haouran," and until lately, commanded the Druses and the Maronites. His palace at Deir-el-Khammar, is of Moorish architecture. The officers of his household are of mixed religion. There is a mosque and a Roman Catholic church at the palace; and the Emir attends *both*, as circumstances direct! He has three sons—the Emir Khássim, the Emir Khálil, and the Emir Amyn. The latter has no family. The Emir Khássim has a son named the Emir Med'gid; and the three sons of Emir Khálil, are the Emir Mahmoud, the Emir Said, and the Emir Masraoud. The Emir Khássim for some years, led a retired life:—his son, the Emir Med'gid, is of an ardent and energetic temperament. The Emir Khálil was made presumptive heir to the Prince of the Mountains, as the succession does not descend by order of primogeniture; but the Prince declares who shall succeed him. The three sons of the Emir Khálil are popular. They are comparatively distinguished for their manners and acquirements, and are amiable. The Emir Amyn is 58 years of age: he is pacific and beloved; but he has no influence. Besides the direct descendants of the Prince of the Mountains, there are several young men, nephews and cousins, who inhabit and govern the districts which bear their name. They are the Emir Haidhár of Habidir; the Emir Beschír of Broumanha; the Emir Amyn of Broumanha; the Emir Fehrés of Solima; the Emir Ismael of Solima; the Emir Sahned'hin of Habidir; the Emir Mustapha of Chábania; and the Emir Youssouff of Botmasia. It is impossible to say, how many of these *still live*, so terrible has been the civil war lately raging. The old Emir retired to Malta during the late Egyptian campaign, and one of his sons reigned in his stead: but *he* too has recently been superseded, the Druses having themselves petitioned the Porte, that they might be under the immediate authority of the Sultan. Omar Pascha, a German, who embraced Mohammedanism some ten years ago, has therefore been appointed Governor of Lebanon:—he has arrived in the country and

* See Vol. I. p. 434; and Vol. II. p. 28, 110, and 155.

taken up his residence at Deir-el-Khammar: so that henceforth these mountains will form a distinct Paschalic,—i. e. if any Turkish Ruler can maintain his position, which at present, does not seem likely to be the case.

THE LATE WAR IN CANDIA.*

The following is an extract from an address on the part of the Cretan exiles to their countrymen, dated Crete, Feb. 17. 1841, old style:—

"In the interval of the last ten years, we have seen and suffered much, both Christians and Turks. We have seen nearly introduced into Crete the system of monopoly which has rendered the Egyptians the most wretched people of the earth. We have seen fifty-two of our most distinguished and worthy fellow-countrymen executed at one time, when, in the most peaceable and lawful manner, we met together to ask a remedy for these evils. We have seen put into effect forcible conscriptions in Crete, and nearly all the conscripts were sacrificed in the war, to gratify the insatiable ambition and avarice of the Satrap of Egypt. But why attempt to relate what is indescribable?" This appeal was not made in vain.

Memoranda, May 14, 1841.—There are 40,000 resident Turks in Crete, and 120,000 Christians. These all desire to be under English rule, which is of course, impossible. They envy the good order and happy state of the people of Cerigo.

The whole island is in a state of revolt. Mustapha Pascha, the Governor, is detested, and the inhabitants wish to throw off the Turkish yoke: they say that they have escaped the tyranny of one Despot to be at the mercy of another!

Subsequently, Tahir Pascha having been sent with a strong force to put down the insurrection, as soon as he arrived, he issued a proclamation calling on the people to submit, offering a free pardon to all who quietly laid down their arms. But the inhabitants knew from past experience, that he was not to be trusted. Proclamations were likewise issued by all the European Consuls. The British Consul's proclamation was couched in the following terms:—

"The undersigned British Consul, feels it his duty to apprise the Christians who have taken arms, that he has received the commands of Lord Ponsonby, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, to the following effect:—'That the British Government having contracted an alliance with the Sublime Porte, cannot countenance any act or attempt

* See Vol. II. p. 143 and 144; also p. 90 and 207.

which would militate against the Sultan's authority, and that he trusts the insurgents will not expect to receive any countenance from the British Government in their resistance to the Sultan's commands.' "

The proclamations of the other Consuls were less laconic. That of Tahir Pascha was dated the 23d of May, and allowed the insurgents *eight days* to accept the proffered terms. But with evident want of faith, *only two days afterwards*, he attempted to land a considerable reinforcement on the south coast of Sphakia, which was of course stoutly resisted, and driven back with great loss. The inhabitants then took to the mountains, where they defended themselves with great bravery until the autumn, when they were under the necessity of making terms.

The situation of the unhappy inhabitants of Candia may be collected from the following article, taken from the *Augsburg Gazette*:—

"According to the latest accounts from the island of Crete, Tahir Pascha had, in violation of his solemn promise to the European Consuls, committed the most atrocious excesses. Not satisfied with laying waste the territory occupied by the insurgents, he burned the houses within his own lines which had furnished him with shelter, destroyed the corn-crops of the unoffending inhabitants, rooted up their vineyards, and murdered old men and children. It is impossible," adds the *Augsburg Gazette*, "for pen to describe the treatment which females, from the tenderest to the most mature age, received from the Turkish soldiers;" and it asks, "Can it be possible that Christian Kings, or at least, that Prussia or Austria, will suffer such atrocities to be committed under the sanction of their names? Will they suffer a Christian population of 100,000 souls to be butchered, and a fertile island reduced to a desert?"—24 July, 1841.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO MOHAMMED ALI AND HIS OWN TIMES.

THE PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY COMMODORE NAPIER AS SOON AS HE ARRIVED OFF THE COAST OF SYRIA.

"Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, with the Sultan, have decided that the rule of Mohammed Ali shall cease in Syria, and I have been sent here with an advanced squadron to assist in throwing off the yoke of the Pascha of Egypt. Syrians, you know that a Hatti Scheriff has been issued by the Sultan, securing the lives and property of his

subjects, which is in full operation throughout the Turkish territories; in addition to which, the Allied Powers have engaged to recommend to the Sultan to render your condition happy and prosperous. Inhabitants of Lebanon, you who are more immediately under my eye, I call upon you to rise, and throw off the yoke under which you are groaning. Troops, arms, and ammunition are daily expected from Constantinople; and in the meantime, the Egyptian ships shall no longer assault your coast. Soldiers of the Sultan, you who were treacherously led from your houses to the burning sands of Egypt, and have been since transported to Syria, I call upon you, in the name of the Great Powers, to return to your allegiance: I have placed two line-of-battle ships close to the Lazaretto where you are encamped: put yourselves under my protection, and should a single soldier of the Pascha approach you, he shall be annihilated. All past events will be forgotten, and your arrears of pay discharged by the Sultan, as also the arrears of any soldier who may join the Sultan's standard.

"*Syria.* "CHARLES NAPIER, Commodore."

The British residents immediately took refuge on board the Commodore's ships. When Ibrahim heard that the English vessels of war were before Beyrout, he wrote to Suleyman Pascha (Colonel Selves) the following words:—"I have no commands to give you. I know your bravery, and your devotion to all my family. I will only observe to you, that we have but one ditch more to leap over, and that on the other side of this ditch, there is *repose.*"

The following intercepted letter* from Ibrahim Pascha to Mohammed Ali, will be read with interest:—

TRANSLATION.

"Ejub Agah yesterday brought me the letter of Your Highness, which I read and understood fully. On the same day, the 3d Rhamadh'an, Selim and Ismael Paschas, with Goubran Effendi, arrived here. The "hasna" being low, I was unable to make the payments. 47,000 purses are indispensable, and you must send them to me.† Selim and Ismael report, that neither the artillery nor the cavalry regiments have any barley, and it is impossible to procure any, because the peasants conceal every thing. They will neither contribute nor give anything; the infidels of Saida have made them insolent.

"We are in want of many things; Syria will be no longer tenable, if the sea is not soon free. 'Affairs stand thus:—Eleven days ago, had Your Highness ordered me to withdraw hence, I should not have done so. At present everything has changed. Our infantry would be good, but the Syrians are worth nothing; I had allowed them to leave me,

* See Vol. II. p. 99—106. et seq.; also Chap. v.

† A purse is about 5*l.* sterling, in round numbers, consequently the sum required by Ibrahim, would be 235,000*l.*

after obliging them to render up their arms. The Arnauts being in league with some seducer, demand either their pay or discharge. I have allowed them to retire. The same with a part of . . . . We are alone. The rains and cold are disagreeable. The bivouacks are worth nothing. I cannot hold my present position till the end of the Rhamadh'an; but in case Your Highness should desire to abandon Reri Schan (Syria) temporarily, I shall not be able to take away the cannon. Our enemies receive assistance from Constantinople and Malta. Ships, soldiers, and ammunition arrive daily, and they over-run the coast of Syria in as many hours as I could do in days. It is therefore prudent not to come here with the fleet, for the English would take it before our eyes. The Consuls have given me to understand that Acre will be bombarded; bombarded perhaps, but taken, *not yet*. Every thing there is in excellent order. Mahmoud has requested mattresses, and I have sent him 340—for, to use in my position here, they would be useless. From the frontier there is nothing new. Maghium Bey is at Aleppo. Ahmed Bey will withdraw as soon as the Ottoman troops advance. The season is unfavourable to our enemies, who are not very numerous. Maghium supposes that at Aleppo there are both spies and people to seduce our soldiery, and that the vulgar are blind. The same may be said of Damascus."

STATISTICS OF THE BOMBARDMENT AND CAPTURE OF SAINT JEAN D'ACRE.

The fortifications and outworks of St. Jean D'Acre extended some distance into the sea, forming therefore what is termed, "a salient angle," and consequently exposing two long ranges or lines of ramparts —the more southern defending the Bay of Caipha, that to the north-west commanding the beach towards T'sour. The "salient angle" itself was defended by 9 guns of large calibre; the batteries were formed of sand-bags, and there were traverses of fascines and sand on either side, to prevent the enemy's shot from enfilading the works: there was also a casemated battery.

NAVAL FORCES EMPLOYED.

South Division.

1.—Mookuddimay-y-hive—A Turkish ship—74 guns—Rear Admiral Walker. 4 men killed, 3 wounded.

2.—The Wasp, brig—16 guns—Commander Mansel. 5 seamen and

1 Royal Marine wounded severely. Foremast severely struck and disabled: obliged to be sent to Malta to refit.

3.—Benbow—72 guns—Captain Stewart. Was severely struck by a fourteen pound shot in the hull, but fortunately, not a man was either killed or wounded.

4.—The Edinburgh—72 guns—Captain Henderson. Had her mizen mast shot through, by which Commander Hastings, Mr. Davis, master, Mr. J. Plimsoll, assistant-surgeon, and Midshipman H. Boys, were slightly wounded, together with one seaman, one sergeant of the Royal Marines, and one boy. Two seamen, one royal marine, and one drummer were killed.

5.—Hazard, sloop—18 guns—Commander the Hon. C. Elliot. One royal marine, and one boy slightly wounded. Mizen-mast severely struck.

6.—Castor, frigate—36 guns—Captain Collier. The heavy fire from the batteries during the time the Castor was taking her position, did considerable damage: her bowsprit was severely struck: her masts and spars wounded or shot away, and her rigging so much cut that she was obliged to go to Malta to refit. Subsequently to the engagement, Captain Collier had the misfortune to have his leg fractured, and received other hurts from the explosion of shells, in a magazine in the town, on the 6th, by which many persons were killed. Four seamen killed, one seaman and two royal marines severely, and one royal marine slightly wounded.

7.—Carysfort—26 guns, heavy 32 pounders—Captain Martin. None killed nor wounded.

8.—Talbot—28 guns, 32 pounders carronnades—Captain Codrington. Lieut. G. B. Le Mesurier, killed. Mr. H. Haswell, mate, wounded slightly, and one seaman wounded severely.

9.—Guerriero—Austrian frigate—46 guns—H. I. H. the Archduke Frederick. One man killed and two wounded.

10.—Medea—Austrian flag-ship—60 guns—Rear Admiral Bandiera. One man killed, and four wounded.

11.—Lipsia—Austrian corvette—20 guns. None killed nor wounded.

The North-west Division.

1.—Revenge—76 guns—Captain Waldegrave. Had her fore-top-gallant yard shot away. 1 seaman, 1 drummer killed: 3 seamen wounded severely, 1 royal marine slightly. The Revenge in the early part of the action, remained under weigh as a reserve; about 3 o'clock, she joined, and took an admirable position next the Powerful.

2.—Powerful—84 guns—Commodore Napier. Had her rigging very much cut. 1 seaman wounded severely; 2 seamen and one royal marine slightly.

3.—Princess Charlotte—104 guns—Captain Fanshawe. Bearing the flag of Admiral Sir Robert Stopford, Commander-in-Chief. Had her

rigging very much cut. 1 seaman killed. She is said to have fired 4,508 shots.

4.—Thunderer—84 guns—Capt. Berkeley. None killed nor wounded.

5.—Bellerophon—80 guns—Captain Austen—Received a shot through the upper deck—None killed nor wounded. The Bellerophon is said to have fired no less than 14,033 *lbs.* of powder, and 62,908 *lbs.* of iron shot—None killed nor wounded.

6.—The Pique—36 guns—Captain Boxer—None killed nor wounded.

STEAM SHIPS.

The Steam ships continually shifted their positions during the action, and threw in shot and shells, whenever they saw the most effectual points for doing execution. It is rather remarkable that not one of the four Steam ships had a single man either killed or wounded.

1.—Stromboli—2 guns, 4 mortars—Commander W. Williams.

2.—Vesuvius—2 guns, 4 mortars—Commander Henderson.

3.—Phœnix—2 guns, 2 mortars—Commander Stopford. Admiral Sir Robert Stopford directed the whole of the operations from the deck of the Phœnix, the vessel continually shifting her position, as circumstances required. The gallant Admiral, who was 73 years of age, displayed throughout, the greatest coolness of demeanour, and the most daring and unshaken courage. The Phœnix left the morning after the action, with dispatches for England.

4. The Gorgon—2 large guns—4 mortars—Captain Henderson. It was supposed to have been a shell fired from the Gorgon that caused the explosion of the powder magazine.

The action took place on the 3rd of Nov. 1840. The firing commenced at half-past 2 o'clock, P.M.—became general at 3 P.M., and the magazine exploded at 4 o'clock, P.M.—by which 1,700 men, 50 donkies, 30 camels, 12 cows, and some horses were killed. The firing of the south division ceased at 5 P.M.; and that of the north-west division at three quarters past 5 P.M. The town was evacuated during the night; and at 8 A.M. the allied troops landed, and took possession. The allied force had 18 killed, and 42 wounded. The Egyptians had 2,500 killed, and 3,500 were taken prisoners: the amount of wounded could not be ascertained. The booty—On the walls were 120 mounted guns, and 42 not mounted; 60 mortars. In store, and ready—97 brass field pieces, and 97 mortars. Arms, ammunition, shot, shells, stores of all kinds, military chest, hospital stores, and 5,000*l.* in specie.*

The following is stated on good authority, to have been the answer made by Mohammed Ali, in September, 1838, to the European Consuls, on the subject of his disagreement with the Sultan Mahmoud:—

* See Vol. I. p. 434, et seq.

"Gentlemen,—The Kings of Europe are very enlightened, and say that they have long desired the tranquillity of the people in general, and the prosperity of the human race. But when they refuse to recognize my right to independence, they do not keep up to their professions; and this is the proof:—Whilst I am not independent, seeing that I am richer, stronger, more powerful than the Sultan—his States and mine remain in presence, and under arms. All Epirus, Anatolia, Karamania, Syria, Egypt, the Isles, all Turkey, and all Arabia, are in fact, a prey to inquietude, to political shocks, expenses and uneasinesses of every kind, which ruin the unfortunate inhabitants of these countries, in consequence of the fear with which I inspire the Sultan, who trembles before one who always developes his snares. The forces of the Sultan are well known, and have long been appreciated. If it were to happen that the Pascha of Bagdad declared war against him, He could not but submit.

"As for me, if I were to put my foot on the Sultan's territory, all his subjects, I say *all*,—all Turkey would receive me with open arms, and the Sultan's soldiers themselves would lay their arms at my feet. Thus, the Kings of Europe appear in this circumstance, to desire the misfortune of the people rather than their well-being, and tranquillity; for, if they leave me to insure my independence, shall I not always be the same, and Mussulmaun as before? They are not ignorant that Greece, whose extent did not exceed a Talari when she first rose, succeeded in the space of six years; and spite of Viziers and Paschas, and the head of such numerous armies, held the Sultan in check; and that, if I had not taken up the cause of the latter against the Greeks, they would have conquered even to Constantinople,—whilst, without the intervention of the Three Powers, I should have subjected all Greece, of which Nauplia alone resisted my arms. On the other hand, what have I not done for civilization in Egypt? Have I not given her regular troops, and a war-marine organized on the European plan? Have I not introduced the Arts and industry, the manufactory of silk and cotton, of copper, and a thousand other trades, which were unknown before me, and of which, at present, to the general surprise, the products rival European industry? Have I not succeeded in constructing and completing, in my States, vessels, guns, telescopes, and every thing necessary?

"Let them tell me, then, why the European Monarchs interfere in a foreign cause? When France marched against Algiers, and conquered it—when France seized upon Constantine, and so many other cities—who interfered with these disputes with the Barbarian States, although, as being of the same religion with the Algerines, it was permitted us to fancy ourselves interested in their cause, or, at least, it was possible for us to aid them, defend them, and, at least, render their submission more difficult for France?

"What, then, is the reason of the conduct of the Sovereigns of

Europe? The interest for the tranquillity of the people, and a desire to spare the effusion of blood, say they. A lie!—an evident lie! In the war with Algiers, was it water or blood that flowed? At the taking of Constantine, was it water or blood that flowed? Whilst I am not independent, Turkey cannot be peaceable or tranquil, and the Sultan Himself will see, little by little, his States pass away from him under the power of one or the other, until He shall be completely dispossessed of his throne; and I shall remain an indifferent spectator of his total ruin; —whilst, independent, I should be his Ally: we should be united and tranquil,—He and I—his people and mine. Independent,—my first care would be, to disarm the half of my army by sea and by land, to leave my soldiers at liberty for manufactures and agriculture. My first labours would be to suppress the duties which weigh upon the people, in consequence of my present position,—my example would be followed by the Sultan; and this is the true means to establish the well-being of the people in Turkey and Egypt. In any case, my resolution is, not to pay in future, an "obole" of tribute to the Sultan; and let him come if He will, with arms in his hands to enforce it!"*

THE CORRESPONDENCE WHICH TOOK PLACE WITH MOHAMMED ALI, AFTER THE DEATH OF THE SULTAN MAHMOUD.

LETTER OF THE GRAND VIZIER KHOSREW PASCHA TO THE VICEROY OF EGYPT.

As was stated in the letter addressed to Your Excellency some days ago, His Highness the most magnificent, the most formidable, and the most powerful Sultan, Abd'ul Med'gid Khan, having ascended the Imperial throne, which Divine predestination had left vacant, the wisdom with which He is naturally gifted, dictated to Him, at the moment of his accession, the following language:—

"The Governor of Egypt, Mohammed Ali Pascha, had committed some acts calculated to indispose my glorious father: various events came to pass, and preparations were made. Nevertheless, to preserve from all attempts the welfare of the people intrusted to me by Providence, with the sole view of sparing the effusion of Mussulmaun blood, I mean to forget all that is past; I will pardon that Governor; confer on him a

* See Vol. I. p. 414. et seq.

decoration similar to that worn by my other Viziers, and concede to him the Province of Egypt, and the hereditary right thereto to his descendants, on condition that he fully conform to his duties of obedience and submission."

However unworthy I may be of the honour, having been raised to the post of Grand Vizier, and owing to the existence of former relations between Your Excellency and me, I heard, with lively satisfaction, the language of His Highness. I immediately wrote to the Seraskier of the East, Hafiz Pascha, to suspend the march of the Imperial army; and the fleet, which was to have left the Dardanelles, has been detained.

The decoration conferred on you by the Sultan, and the firmaun which is to accompany it, are now preparing.

In the meanwhile, Akiff Effendi, Secretary of the Council, and one of the High Functionaries of the Sublime Porte, has been dispatched to acquaint you in detail with our Sovereign's desire.

If God deign to assist His Highness, all the Provinces of the Empire will enjoy perfect tranquillity under the protection of his sceptre. Now, as the accomplishment of that hope depends on the union of Mussulmauns, I specially address you this letter, in order that, guided by your natural prudence, and docile to the Supreme wish, you forget all the past, fully accomplish your duties as a Vassal, withdraw the troops which are found in your camp, and think no more hereafter but of accord and union.—*Dated July*, 1839.

LETTER OF MOHAMMED ALI, WRITTEN TO THE EUROPEAN CONSULS, IN REPLY TO THE COMMUNICATIONS MADE TO HIM BY THE AMBASSADORS OF THE GREAT POWERS IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

" In the course of two days, Akiff Effendi will set out for Constantinople. He will be the bearer of a letter of congratulation and submission, on my part, to the new Sultan Abd'ul Medg'id. I intend also addressing to Khosrew Pascha a letter, in which I will represent to him—

" 1. That the late Sultan Mahmoud had made me, at the time, through the medium of Sarim Effendi, propositions of a much more advantageous nature than those addressed to me now, by His Highness; for he then offered me the hereditary reversion of Egypt, as well as of Syria, Sayda, and the Sandjak of Tripoli.

" 2. That, under existing circumstances, I demand the hereditary

right to Egypt, as well as to Syria and Candia; that is, to all the dominions I now possess, as I previously mentioned.

"3. That, on this condition, and if the Porte wishes to act with good faith towards me, I will be the most faithful of the servants and vassals of His Highness, and I will defend Him when, and against whomsoever, He pleases.

"I intend writing to Constantinople to the above effect.

"I will make no mention, in my letter to the Grand Vizier, of the fleet, from a sense of propriety; but I beg of you to tell the Representatives of the Great Courts at Constantinople, that I never had the intention of keeping or using it with a hostile object against the Sultan; I formally pledge myself, on the contrary, to restore it the moment that my propositions shall have been accepted; in which case, all the vessels composing the squadron of His Highness shall be sent back to Constantinople. As regards the Ottoman Admirals, those who should be afraid to return to Turkey, will be allowed to remain in Egypt, which is part of the same Monarchy.

"When the Sultan shall have acceded to my prayer, and that Khosrew Pascha shall have been removed from the direction of affairs, I will not hesitate, on the first invitation of His Highness, to proceed to Constantinople; but alone, and on board a steamer, and with the sole view of offering in person, my homage to my Sovereign, and of tendering to Him my services.

"Finally, I declare to you, that if my propositions be not attended to, I shall not wage war, but merely maintain my present position, and wait."—*Dated July* 1839.

REMONSTRANCE OF THE ALLIES WITH MOHAMMED ALI IN 1839.

On the 18th of October, the Consuls of the Four Great Powers (the Prussian Consul being absent) had an audience with the Viceroy, and by an order, dated Constantinople, the 7th instant, from the Ambassadors, they addressed him in nearly the following words:—

"The Grand Vizier has communicated your Highness's last letter to the Ambassadors of the Great Powers. Mohammed Ali still appears to flatter himself that he will be able to bring the Porte to an arrangement to which the Great Powers of Europe, under whose protection the Porte has placed itself, shall remain strangers. Is it possible that a man, who through a long career, has given proofs of uncommon sagacity, can so blind himself, when his own interest is concerned? The faults of

the Porte, of which Your Highness has so dexterously taken advantage, have given you superior strength, which Your Highness can abuse. You can at the present moment, deprive the Porte of still greater territories, for there is no one to offer opposition. Your Highness may keep the Ottoman fleet, and the Allies of the Sultan will not employ force to regain it; for its destruction would be the probable result of the conflict. Your Highness may then, if you will, feel satisfied with the conviction, and in the abuse, of your material force. But if Europe is hostile to you, whither will that lead? For even supposing that Europe did nothing to combat Your Highness, still she holds against the Pascha a formidable weapon—that of his future prospects.

"What does Your Highness desire? You cease not to repeat that all your actions have no other end but that of establishing the future fortunes of your family. Do you then believe that the personal hatred with which you have been animated, up to the present time, against Khosrew Pascha, can be a good foundation for the establishment of your family? Have you ever seen anything durable based on a sentiment of this nature? Your Highness has endeavoured to approximate Egypt to Europe by your Administration, by Arts, and by Commerce. Hence you should have learned, and you will learn, more clearly, that the situation of Egypt is necessary to the regular existence and duration of some political position. Do not, then, deceive yourself with the superiority of your strength; for it is insufficient to give Your Highness that future influence which you would establish. Even if the Sultan were to grant Your Highness all the concessions you demand, they would be insufficient to secure your position; for they will not be sanctioned by Europe.

"Had Your Highness, as Chief of the revolted Mussulmauns, founded a new Empire an age ago, it might have existed in that state of separation and isolation which then rendered Europe but little attentive to events of such a nature; but Your Highness has devoted even your own life to the establishment of another order of things; and you have need, under pain of vanishing like a meteor, of the sanction of Europe, who will not sanction anything that does not leave untouched the principle of the Sultan's Sovereignty.

"If Mohammed Ali rests the hope of a successful resistance on the conviction, which he seems to entertain, of the difficulty that the Powers would have in adopting in concert active measures against him, he should perceive that they would easily agree to refuse their sanction to an order of things that they found too onerous for the Porte. It is never difficult to take a negative measure."

The Consuls of Russia and Austria were together during this declaration; and those of England and France were separate. The Viceroy replied, that he referred the decision of his affairs to the High Powers, in whose justice he had implicit confidence, and that this declaration

had been probably caused by a correspondence between himself and Khosrew Pascha, who was the first to solicit him to bring their affairs to a termination between themselves, and without foreign mediation. He then ordered that the Turkish copy of this correspondence should be given to the above mentioned Consuls. The first is Khosrew Pascha's, and is dated the 5th of September, and the last sentence of this must be the one by which, as the Viceroy said, the Grand Vizier solicited him to terminate their differences without mediation. The second letter is his answer, dated the 15th of September, by which he demands of Khosrew one or two Ulemas, Dignitaries of the Empire, to be their judges.

The following are the documents referred to in the above:—

1.—TRANSLATION OF A DISPATCH WRITTEN BY KHOSREW PASCHA TO MOHAMMED ALI PASCHA, DATED THE 27th GEMAZIULAHIR, 1255, (5th of September, 1839.)

"I have had the honour of receiving Your Highness's dispatch, and of making myself acquainted with its contents. It is filled with reproaches; Your Highness's bidding us to retire from affairs, and advise you accordingly, I write this to Your Highness to testify the sincerity of our friendship towards you; of this God is our witness, as also that we do not entertain any feeling of animosity against you. The opinion you hold of me is not just, and although the complaints and reproaches of Your Highness, which have been directed against me, have filled the whole earth, I feel no anger towards you;—that is rather the Emperor's concern. All these words have, among both Mussulmauns and Europeans, done injury to the name of the wise Mohammed Ali Pascha, and as 'every individual should be devoted to the cause of his own,' that has greatly astonished me in Your Highness, and has even angered me. Since the Capoudan Pascha is guilty, it is not reasonable to wish to retain the fleet, and we did not think that it was. You have heard the words of the Capoudan Pascha, and if you had sent the Imperial fleet it would have been a suitable and benignant act. As for what regards my removal from affairs, Your Highness knows very well that, for many years, I kept retired in my own house. Providence, notwithstanding my own unwillingness, desired that I should become Grand Vizier. This, then, is the effect of Divine Grace, and opposing it, would have been opposing the will of God, whom I feared, and accepted the Viziriate accordingly, in the persuasion that God would be my aid. Now, my Lord, I earnestly entreat you to pardon this fault of the Grand Viziriate, since for me it was a destiny of God, by the very reason that I was one of the first of Islam. I thank the Almighty, that with my last breath, I shall find myself in the favour of the Prophet, and in the service of our Benefactor the Emperor, who is His Successor, and whom I will serve with zeal. All this is perfectly well known to Your Highness, and you may feel displeased at the repe-

tition. May God give to each of us according to our hearts, and in the mean while, may we strive with zeal and devotion to fulfil our duties."

2.—TRANSLATION OF A DISPATCH WRITTEN BY MOHAMMED ALI PASCHA TO KHOSREW PASCHA, DATED THE 8th OF REDJEB, 1255.

"I have had the honour of receiving Your Highness's answer, containing exhortations which would persuade us to render ourselves worthy of our Sovereign's kindness, the only end contemplated by Your Highness, who, in repeating the maxim 'that every individual should be devoted to the cause of his own,' has not made a quotation which harmonizes with the present state of things.

"My Lord, you know, from the subject, the correspondence, the whole of this business, from its commencement to the present time. I am astonished, that after having brought the business to the point where it now stands, you now have a feeling of patriotism, for you are not ignorant that the late Sultan, of blessed memory, deigned to promise me Egypt and the Paschaliks of Saida and Tripoli in perpetuity, which I refused to accept, entreating His Highness to grant me, in consideration of my services, a perpetuity in *all* the Paschaliks and Sandjaks which were under my administration. Having become Grand Vizier, you offer me Egypt alone, when a sojourn for eighteen months as Pascha of this country, should have taught you how far hospitality is respected among the Arabs. Nevertheless, without regarding the friendly relations of forty years, and the glory which I have acquired under the auspices of the Sublime Porte, you order me to seize His Highness the Capoudan Achmet Pascha, who is a comrade, and who, having had a difference with one of his comrades, has taken refuge with another (Kapou Yoldachou). Instead of making use of the latter as a means of reconciliation with the refugee, by the employment of mild measures, you give me such an order, and in other forms you address the Superior Officers of the fleet, and perhaps others beside. I have indeed been deeply offended, and in conformity with the maxim, '*pari refertur*,' I had declared to do nothing more. Without reflecting on what you did, by saying in the dispatches you wrote to me after the return of Akiff Effendi, that you were on the point of sending to me Saib Effendi when the Five Ambassadors sent you a note, you gave the affair quite a different turn. The fact is, that several years ago, the Powers told us to settle our affairs *ourselves*. In your last letter you say, that to be agreeable to our Lord the Prophet, we ought, to our last sigh, to labour for the glory of his successor, our beneficent Emperor, and for the welfare of our nation. I have no doubt of the truth of your words, and God knows that my belief is the same; but your actions and words do not correspond, and I think that what has been published by the journals relative to us, under the circumstances, will suffice on this head. Be that as it may, since you assure me that you are not swayed

by any feelings of animosity, God also knows my devotion to the Sublime Porte of Eternal Duration, the purity of my sentiments towards Your Highness, and my sincere friendship for all the Great Dignitaries of the Empire, without any interested view on my own part being intermingled. It follows that we are both animated by the same feelings, but that, according to appearances, our principles do not agree. To terminate our difference by a just decision, and to remove this scandal from the happy Mussulmaun nation, we require an upright and religious judge, who will examine the question according to our Holy Law. My religious zeal and my sincere friendship being thus shewn, I suppose that Your Highness is animated by the same desire as myself. *Inschallah* (God grant) that your heart may be as your lips, and that you may, by the peace and repose you restore to Mussulmauns, deserve the eulogies of great and small, and a name immortalized and revered in history, and in the mouth of posterity. If Your Highness approve of my proposal, there is nothing further to do than to send to me one or two persons chosen from among the Ulemahs and the Grand Dignitaries of the Empire, free from all partiality either for Your Highness or myself, and having only in view the interests of the Sublime Porte and of the Mussulmaun nation. This will be a measure adapted to the circumstances, and a service alike to the altar and the throne—a service which Your Highness so ardently desires to perform."

OFFICIAL DISPATCHES RELATIVE TO THE TURCO-EGYPTIAN CONVENTION.*

1.

"Foreign-Office, Nov. 14, 1840.

"My Lords,—The Four Powers, who together with the Porte, signed the treaty of the 15th July, have decided to recommend to the Porte, through their Representatives at Constantinople, that if Mehemet Ali will submit *promptly* to the Sultan, and consent to restore the Turkish fleet, and cause his troops to evacuate all Syria, the district of Adana, the Island of Candia, Arabia, and the Holy Cities, notwithstanding the decree by which the Sultan has declared Mehemet Ali deposed from the Government of Egypt, he will be re-established in that Paschalic.

"In execution of this resolution, it is decided by the Representatives of the Four Powers in London, that their intentions shall be made known to Mehemet Ali, through the Admiral commanding in the Mediterranean.

"must therefore signify to Your Lordships, that Her Majesty orders

* See Vol. I. p. 414, et seq.; also p. 444.

that instructions be given to Sir Robert Stopford, ordering him to send immediately to Alexandria, an Officer competent to make the following communication to Mehemet Ali :—

" The Officer encharged therewith, will ask, on his arrival in Alexandria, to have a conference with Mehemet Ali, in the presence of Boghos Bey, in order to make to Mehemet Ali a communication on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

" When admitted, he shall make known to Mehemet Ali, that the British Government has ordered him to inform him, that if he submits *immediately* to the Sultan, and delivers into the hands of the Officer encharged with the above, a written obligation to restore, without further delay, the Turkish fleet, and to recall immediately his troops from Syria, from the district of Adana, from the Island of Candia, from Arabia, and from the Holy Cities, the Four Powers will recommend the Sultan to re-establish Mehemet Ali in the Paschalic of Egypt.

" The Officer will further explain, that this recommendation on the part of the Four Powers will only be given in case of Mehemet Ali's submitting *promptly*, and that the Officer has received orders to remain three days in Alexandria, to receive the decision of Mehemet Ali, and convey it to Constantinople. The Officer in charge must put in writing the preceding communication; and after having read it to Mehemet Ali, he must deliver to him the sheet upon which it is written.

" If at the expiration of the three days, Mehemet Ali should consign to the Officer the above mentioned written obligation, the Officer will immediately leave for Constantinople, taking it with him; but the Officer must demand that the document in writing on the part of Mehemet Ali, be delivered to him *open*, in order that he may inform himself of its contents, and must refuse to take it with him to Constantinople, should he find that it does not contain the said obligation.

" PALMERSTON."

" To the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty."

2.

" Princess Charlotte, St. George's Bay,
Beyrout, December 2, 1840.

" Highness,—I am very sorry to find that Commodore Napier should have entered into a convention with Your Highness for the evacuation of Syria by the Egyptian troops, which he had no authority to do, and which I cannot approve or ratify.

" Your Highness's Envoy, Abdel Amim Bey, has consulted with the General commanding the troops, as to his best manner for proceeding to Ibrahim Pascha.

" The General having good reason to suppose that Ibrahim Pascha had left Damascus, (a great part of his army having left it several days since, going to the southward upon the Mecca Road,) could not guarantee

a safe conduct for Your Highness's Envoy further than Damascus. He therefore returns to Alexandria, having done all in his power to execute Your Highness's instructions.

"I hope this letter will reach Your Highness in time to stop the transports which Commodore Napier writes me are coming from Alexandria to the coast of Syria, for the purpose of embarking part of the Egyptian army. Should any of them arrive here, they will be ordered to return to Alexandria.

"I hope this hasty and unauthorized convention will not occasion any embarrassment to Your Highness. It was no doubt done from an amicable motive, though under a limited view of the state of affairs in Syria; but it will not lessen my earnest desire most readily to adopt any measure which may tend to a renewal of that amity and good feeling which I trust will hereafter subsist between England and Your Highness, the terms of which, I am happy to hear, are now in a state of progress with the Allied Powers.

"I have the honour to be Your Highness's most obedient servant,

"R. STOPFORD, Admiral.

"His Highness Mehemet Ali, Pascha, &c., Alexandria."

3.

"Princess Charlotte, at sea, off Cyprus, Dec. 6.

"Highness,—I have now the honour to transmit to Your Highness, by Captain Fanshawe, the Captain of my flag-ship, the *official* authority from the British Government, in the name of the Four Powers, to maintain Your Highness in the Paschalic of Egypt, upon the conditions that, within three days after the communication made to you by Captain Fanshawe, you agree to restore the Turkish fleet to the Sultan, and finally evacuate Syria.

"Let me beseech Your Highness to take these terms into your serious consideration, and I implore the Almighty God to impress upon your mind the benefit you will bestow upon a distracted country, by an early compliance with the decision of the Four Allied Powers.

"Captain Fanshawe is fully authorized to receive Your Highness's final decision.

"I have the honour to be Your Highness's most obedient humble servant, "ROBERT STOPFORD, Admiral.

"To His Highness Mehemet Ali, Pascha, &c., Alexandria."

4.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY ADMIRAL SIR ROBERT STOPFORD.

"Alexandria, 17 Chewal, 1256 (Dec. 10, 1840.)

"I am well pleased to receive your friendly and benevolent dispatches —the first by Hamed Bey, on his return from the mission on which he had been dispatched to our son Ibrahim Pascha; and the second by

Captain Fanshawe, your friend, and Captain of your flag-ship, who came express and presented it, with official dispatches. According to the instructions of these, I have written in haste a petition" (or supplication) "to the Sublime Porte; and, seeing that their contents were made known to Your Excellency, I have, agreeably to their counsel, left it open, and I have also added to it a translation. I hope that my speedy submission will find grace in the eyes of the Great Allied Powers, and draw their good will towards me, through the aid of Your Excellency, whose intentions are so kind.

"Assuring Your Excellency of my friendship, I am, &c.,

"MOHAMMED ALI."

5.

"PETITION ADDRESSED TO THE SUBLIME PORTE, THROUGH THE GRAND VIZIER.

"Alexandria, 17 Chewal, 1256 (Dec. 10, 1840.)

"The English Commodore Napier, being arrived before Alexandria on the 22nd of November, declared, in writing, that the Great Powers had interceded with the Sublime Porte, whereby the Government of Egypt was to be accorded to me hereditarily; and he made a convention for the return of the Imperial fleet, lying in the port of Alexandria, and the return of the Egyptian army to Egypt, stipulating that the said fleet be prepared for sea, and that measures be taken for the evacuation by the army. Several interviews and a correspondence took place on this business; and after having accepted the convention, whilst we awaited the arrival of a Magnanimous Order from the Divine Man," (the Sultan) "we willingly exchanged the convention. Immediately, His Excellency our son Ibrahim Pascha, was written to, to withdraw the Egyptian troops from Damascus, where they were concentrated, and, moreover, to depart into Egypt; also, by means of a steam-boat furnished by the said Commodore, an express to that effect was sent to Syria. Subsequently, by letter from Ibrahim Pascha, received overland, of the date of the last day of Ramazan," (23 of November) "it has become known with certainty, that the entire army had on the 3d or 4th Chewal," (26th or 27th of November) "left Damascus for Egypt.

"Now, according to an official dispatch of His Excellency Sir Robert Stopford, the English Admiral, dated before Cyprus, the 6th of December, he had received a dispatch from the noble Lord Palmerston, with instructions which, we understand, are to obtain the restitution of the Imperial fleet, the evacuation by the Egyptian troops of Syria, of Adana, of Candia, of the Provinces of Arabia, and of the Holy Places, and the renewal of my submission to the Sublime and Eternal Ottoman Porte. I, therefore, *with my soul and with all that I possess*, submit myself to my August Sovereign and Master, to whose Magnanimity I recur, and of whom I entreat pardon; and, that submission being ac-

cepted by *Amicus Urbis*," (the Roman Consular title preserved by the Sultans of Byzantium—in Turkish, *Shehriyar*,) "I shall gratefully acknowledge it as the fruit of the protective benevolence of the High Powers, and prepare the fleet for its return. Seeing that dispatch and delivery depend upon the Orders of the Divine Man, I shall, upon the arrival of a Sublime Order, immediately send out the fleet, which I am now preparing. I also hold myself ready to cause without delay, upon a Sublime Order, the Island of Candia, the Provinces of Arabia, and the Holy Places to be evacuated by the Egyptian troops.

"With the aid of the Superior Being, I now present my prompt submission to the knowledge of Your Highness, to lay it at the feet of our August and Magnanimous Monarch, of whom I hope and pray, as one of the oldest and most faithful of his servants, to be confirmed in his favour. And all depends upon the Sublime Dispositions.

"MOHAMMED ALI."

The following is a correct copy of the "HATTI SCHERIFF OF GULHANEH," and an account of the ceremony which preceded its announcement; as given in "THE TIMES" of Nov. 28th, 1839.

We have received letters from our Constantinople correspondent to the 7th inst. inclusive, enclosing a copy of a Hatti Scheriff read on the 3rd inst. by order of the Sultan to the Ulemahs and Grandees of the Empire, and in the presence of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs, and of the Foreign Ambassadors to the Sublime Porte.

This important document commences by ascribing the decay of the Ottoman Empire to departures from the principles laid down in the Khoran, proceeds to describe the reforms in the system of Government that had thence become necessary, and concludes by decreeing them. The points to which the Hatti Scheriff is principally directed, are—individual and personal liberty, and the contributions for the defence of the State in men and money. Henceforward, the lives and property of *all* the subjects of the Ottoman Government, *without distinction of religion*, are declared inviolable. Just and wise modes of collecting an equitable revenue are to supersede the grinding, cruel, and oppressive system that has, during the last century and a half, prevailed. The levy of soldiers is to be hereafter proportioned to the population in each district, and the period of military service to be reduced to four or five years, according to the decision of a military commission, to which the project is to be referred.

Such is the substance of this communication. We subjoin, however, the details of the ceremony which preceded the announcement of it, and the text of the Hatti Scheriff:—

"It had been well known for some time," say our Constantinople letters, "that the Ministers were engaged in drawing up a fundamental law, which His Highness meant to bestow on his subjects; but no one

was aware of its principal basis." "However, on Thursday last," says one of these letters, "after an extraordinary Council, which was held at the Porte, and at which were present all the Members of the Divan, the Scheikh-ul-Islam, and the principal Ulemahs, the reforms contemplated by the Sultan began to be spoken of with more certainty; and public curiosity was excited to the highest pitch, by a few facts which transpired in the course of the day. On Friday, a new Council met at the Sublime Porte, under the Presidency of the Sadrazam, at which it was resolved, that the ceremony of the promulgation of the new law, should take place, with all possible solemnity, on the Sunday following—(that is, on the 3d inst.)

"Accordingly, on that day, all the persons who had received invitations to attend, repaired, at 8 o'clock in the morning, to the extensive plain of Gulhaneh, which is contiguous to the Imperial Palace of Top Kapou, where they took their stations under numerous tents, prepared two days before, by order of the Sultan.

"At the hour appointed for the ceremony, the Representatives of the Friendly Powers residing in Constantinople, arrived in succession, accompanied by their Secretaries of Legation, and their First Dragomans in splendid carriages, which the Government had placed at their disposal. The Chief Interpreter of the Divan, Ali Effendi, the director of the *Ottoman Moniteur*, Salvet Effendi, and the Head Translator of the Porte, having been instructed to do the honours of the place to the Ambassadors, conducted them to the places appointed for them in the Imperial pavilion, which had been decorated with great splendour for their reception. The Prince de Joinville, who was also invited, was, on his arrival, ushered into a separate apartment, next to that occupied by the Members of the *corps diplomatique*.

"Shortly afterwards, cries of 'Long live the Emperor,' proceeding from the ranks of the numerous detachments of troops stationed along the plain, announced the approach of the Sultan, who was dressed in a splendid uniform, and wore on his head an aigrette of diamonds.

"Among the distinguished personages invited, were the Patriarchs of the Greek, Catholic, Armenian, and Schismatic Armenian Churches, the Grand Rabbi, a deputation of Saraafs, or Catholic and Armenian bankers, deputations from all the "esnafs," or corporations, the Directors of all the Administrations and Departments of the Government, &c.

"In the centre of the plain, the Principal Member of the body of Ulemahs, the Kazaskiers, the Cadis and Mollahs, were drawn up, each according to his title, and to the rank he held; and next to them, but in another line, stood the Scheikh-ul-Islam and the seven Generals-in-Chief of the Empire.

"When all were placed, Riza Pascha, Mabeyn Maschiri, the Muschir of the palace, handed the Hatti Scheriff of His Highness to Redschid

Pascha, who read it aloud from a rostrum, erected for the occasion in the centre of the plain.

"Prayers appropriate to the circumstance, were afterwards recited; and numerous salutes of artillery, fired from all the batteries of the Capital, added to the *éclat* of that remarkable day, without example in the annals of the Ottoman Empire.

"After the ceremony, the Prince de Joinville was waited upon by the Grand Vizier, who, accompanied by Halil Pascha, Redschid Pascha, and Fethi, came to compliment him; they then entered the apartment occupied by the diplomatic body, and offered them their civilities; and at noon, the Sultan returned to his palace, where he had convoked an Assembly of the Paschas of the first order, to whom here commended, in the most formal manner, the strict execution of the organic laws which he intended shortly to promulgate. All those High Functionaries, as well as the Kazaskiers, then repaired in procession to the Hall where the Mantle of the Prophet was deposited, and took the oath of allegiance, in the presence of the Scheikh-ul-Islam.

"The Representatives of the Friendly Powers received respectively, an official translation of the Hatti Scheriff of His Highness, accompanied by a note, in which the Porte invited them to transmit it to their respective Courts."

We shall now proceed to lay before our readers, at length, this important document:—

"Every one knows, that in the beginning of the Ottoman Empire, the glorious precepts of the Khoran and the laws of the Empire were held as rules always revered, in consequence of which the Empire increased in strength and greatness; and all its subjects, without exception, attained the highest degree of welfare and prosperity. Within the last 150 years, a series of events and variety of causes have, from not abiding by the Holy Code of laws, and the regulations that arose from it, changed the welfare and strength into weakness and poverty. Thus it is, that a nation loses all its stability, by ceasing to observe its laws. These considerations have constantly presented themselves to our notice; and since the day of our accession to the throne, the public weal, the amelioration of the state of the Provinces, and the relief of the people, have never ceased to occupy our thoughts. Bearing in mind the geographical position of the Ottoman Empire, the fertility of its soil, the aptitude and intelligence of its population, it is evident, that by bringing into operation efficacious means, we may obtain, by the assistance of God, the object we hope to insure, perhaps in the space of a few years. Thus, full of confidence in the Almighty, and relying on the intercession of our Prophet, we deem it necessary to seek, by new Institutions, to procure to the States which compose the Ottoman Empire, the happiness of a good Administration.

"These Institutions should have three objects in view—*first*, to gua-

rantee to our subjects, perfect security of life, honour, and property; *secondly*, the regular levying and assessing of taxes; and *thirdly*, a regular system for the raising of troops, and fixing the time of their service.

"For, in truth, are not life and honour the most precious of all blessings? What man, however averse his disposition to violent means, can withhold having recourse to them, and thereby injure both the Government and his country, when both his life and honour are in jeopardy? If, on the contrary, he enjoys in this respect full security, he will not stray from the paths of loyalty, and all his actions will tend to increase the prosperity of the Government and his countrymen. If there be absence of security of property, every one remains callous to the voice of his Prince and country. No one cares about the progress of the public good, absorbed as one remains with the insecurity of his own position. If on the other hand, the citizen looks upon his property as secure, of whatever nature it be, then, full of ardour for his interests, of which for his own contentment he endeavours to enlarge the sphere, thereby to extend that of his enjoyments, he feels every day in his heart, the attachment for his Prince and for his country grow stronger, as well as his devotedness to their cause. These sentiments in him become the source of the most praiseworthy actions.

"The assessment of regular and fixed taxes is a consideration of vital importance, since the State, having to provide for the defence of its territory, can only raise the means necessary for the maintenance of the army, by contributions on the people. Although, thanks be to God, the inhabitants of this country have lately been freed from the curse of monopolies, formerly improperly looked upon as a source of revenue, a fatal practice still remains in force, although it cannot fail to give rise to the most disastrous consequences—it is that of venal corruption, known under the name of "Htizam." According to this system of civil and financial practice, a district is abandoned to the arbitrary rule of one individual, but too often notorious for his rapacity, and the most cruel and most insatiable disposition; for, should this farmer of the revenue not be a virtuous man, he will have no other care but that tending to his own advantage.

"It becomes, then, necessary for every member of the Ottoman Society to be taxed according to a fixed rate, in proportion to his means and circumstances, and that nothing further should be exacted from him, and that special laws should also fix and limit the expenses of our army and navy.

"Although, we have already observed, the defence of the country is a most important consideration, it becomes the duty of the inhabitants to supply soldiers to that object—it becomes essential to establish laws to regulate contingents which each district is to supply, according to the urgency of the moment, and to reduce the time of the military service

to four or five years; for it is at the same time doing an injustice, and inflicting a mortal blow on agriculture and industry, to take, without regard to the respective populations of each district, from one, more,—from other, fewer men, than they can afford to provide, and it is also reducing the soldiers to despair, and contributing to the depopulation of the country, to retain them all their lives in the service. In short, without the different laws, of which the necessity has been shown, there is neither strength, riches, happiness, nor tranquillity for the Empire, and it has to expect these blessings as soon as these laws come into operation.

"It is therefore, that in future, the cause of every individual shall be tried publicly, according to our Divine Laws, after mature inquiry and examination; and till a regular sentence has been pronounced, no one shall have it in his power, either secretly or publicly, to put an individual to death, either by poison, or by any other means.

"It is not permitted to attack the honour of any individual, unless before a Court of Justice.

"Every individual shall be allowed to be master of his own property, of whatsoever kind, and shall be allowed to dispose of it with full liberty, without any obstacle being offered by any one. For instance, the innocent heirs of a criminal shall not forfeit their right to his property, nor shall the property of a criminal be any longer confiscated.

"These Imperial concessions extend to *all* our subjects, *of whatever religion or sect they may be*, and these advantages they shall, *without exception*, enjoy.

"Thus, we grant full security to the inhabitants of our Empire, of life, honour, and property, as we are bound to do, according to the text of our Holy Law.

"As to the other subjects, they are subsequently to be regulated, after the decision of the enlightened Members of our Council of Justice, the Members of which will be increased according to necessity, which is to meet on certain days, which we shall appoint. Our Ministers and Dignitaries of the Empire will assemble to establish laws for the security of life and property, and the assessment of taxes, and every Member of these Assemblies shall be free to express his opinion, and to give his advice.

"Laws concerning the regulation of the military service will be debated at the Military Council, which will hold its meetings at the palace of the Seraskier.

"As soon as one law is settled, in order that it may be for ever valid, it shall be presented to us, and we shall honour it with our sanction; and to the head thereof we shall affix our Imperial seal.

"As these present Institutions have for object, to cause the Religion, Government, Nation, and Empire to re-flourish, we solemnly bind our-

selves to do nothing in contravention to them. As a pledge of our promise, it is our determination, after having them deposited in the Hall which contains the Glorious Mantle of the Prophet, in presence of all the Ulemahs and Dignitaries of the Empire, to abide by these Institutions in the name of God, and then order the Ulemahs and Grandees of the Empire to take the same solemn oath. After that, he who shall violate these Institutions shall be liable, without any regard being paid to his rank, consideration, or credit, to corresponding punishment to his faults, after once it has been made clear.

" A penal code shall be drawn out to this effect.

" As every Functionary receives at present a suitable salary, and as the pay of those who are not yet sufficiently rewarded, is to be subsequently increased, rigorous laws will be promulgated against the sale of patronage and places under Government, which the Divine Law reprobates, and which is one of the principal causes of the downfall of the Empire.

" The above resolutions being a complete renovation of ancient customs, this Imperial decree shall be published at Constantinople, and in all the Provinces of our Empire, and shall be communicated officially to all the Ambassadors of Friendly Powers residing at Constantinople, in order that they may be witnesses to the granting of these Institutions, which, if it may please God, are to endure for ever.

" May the Almighty God extend his protection to us all. Let those who may presume to violate the present Institutions be the object of Divine malediction, and be deprived of happiness now and for ever.—Amen."

The fate of Redschid Pascha, the patriotic individual by whom this extensive system of reform was introduced, was anticipated by all those who were accustomed to watch the course of events in Turkey,—not because doubts were ever entertained of the probity, talents, or excellent intentions of that Statesman, but on account of his having ideas respecting the solution of the Egyptian differences, and the best means of regenerating his country, which were too enlightened to co-incide with those of the majority of the Divan. However, his fall does not in the least affect the integrity of his character, and his presence at the head of affairs has been signalized by too many important innovations, not to secure him, in his retirement, the admiration and esteem of all honest men. In proof of the estimation in which he was held, the Sultan Med'gid sent for him to the palace, in July 1841, and invested him with the Order of the " Red Eagle," set in diamonds, which had been presented to him by the King of Prussia. This circumstance created considerable sensation at Constantinople,—the ordinary rule being, that a *fallen* Minister forfeits his right to wear decorations.*

* See Vol. II. p. 142, also, p. 91, et seq.

DEATH OF THE SULTAN MAHMOUD.

Letter dated Constantinople, July 2, 1839.

"Sultan Mahmoud is no more. He finished his mortal career, if not really, at least officially, yesterday morning (some say, on the 18th ult., but that the event was concealed), and the new Sultan Abd'-ul-Medgid was immediately proclaimed in his stead. During nearly the whole day, the ceremony of "beât" or doing homage to the youthful Sovereign, went on; and afterwards, that is, at 5 P. M., the remains of Mahmoud were interred at an open spot near "the burnt column" which he had himself pointed out for the purpose, and where a "turbè," or mausoleum will be erected over him. Nothing could be more tranquil than the conduct of the people, who mingled their tears, and confined their words to lamentations at the loss of one who was esteemed as a beloved father. The deceased had for some time back, been suffering from a liver complaint, which had been too long neglected; and when the physicians came to attend him, they found that violent inflammation had already removed the patient beyond the reach of art. On Thursday last, they were, one and all, dismissed from the Imperial bed-side, and Dr. Millingen, an Englishman, was introduced, in the hope that a change of treatment would at least prolong life for some few fleeting days more: but it was far too late; and if all the art of Europe had been combined to save him, he must still have died. When he became sensible that his time was approaching, his son and successor was called, and in the presence of several High Functionaries, the dying Sultan addressed to him words full of wisdom and sage counsel.

Abd'-ul-Medgid is a delicate youth of 16, and ill adapted to buffet against the storm which has now assailed the Empire: but he is docile and gentle, and though by the Turkish law, he is a major (15 being the age for the majority of a Sovereign), the affairs of the State will probably, for years to come, be virtually directed by more experienced heads and stronger hands than his. Khosrew Pascha has been appointed "Bash Vekeel," or Prime Minister,—the late Premier Raouff Pascha, being made President of the Supreme Council, and Halil Pascha "Cazi-Askar" (Seraskier). Sundry other changes have either already taken place, or are talked of,—as Said Pascha to be "Muschir" of the palace—Tahir Pascha "Capoudan Pascha," &c. Hussein Pascha of Vidin is hourly expected. Orders were dispatched on the 30th to suspend all hostilities. On Friday next we shall have the ceremony of "girding on the sword of Sovereignty," which is to take place at the Mosque of Eyoob. This is equivalent to a coronation. According to appearances, every thing will go off quietly:—still, guards are patrolling about night and day, and all needful precautions are adopted to pre-

serve order, and to repress any attempts that might be made to disturb it. A few individuals have been, it is said, arrested; and some have found strangulation a remedy for aspirations of a dangerous tendency: one or two others have been exiled."

On the same day on which His Highness died, the following official announcement was made to the Foreign Ambassadors by the Ministers of the Sublime Porte.

"On this Monday, July 1st, towards the morning, by the Eternal Decree of God, Sultan Mahmoud Khan, Emperor of the Ottomans, was removed from this mortal state, and the Crown Prince, the Serene, August, Mighty Sultan, Ab'dul Meschid Khan, has happily ascended the hereditary throne of his ancestors; and, according to the ancient custom of the Empire, received the homage of the assembled Great Dignitaries, the Supreme Clergy, the Commander of the troops, the Ministers of the Porte, and Officers of State. On the 29th of June, two days before the death of the Sultan, orders were dispatched both to Hafiz Pascha, and to the Capoudan Pascha, to halt with the army and the fleet, wherever they might be, on the receipt of these dispatches."

Signed by all the Ottoman Ministers.

Sultan Mahmoud was the thirtieth Sovereign of the family of Osman, and the twenty-fourth who has reigned in Constantinople since the conquest of that city in 1453. He held dominion 31 years. His loss was much regretted by the Christians, to whom he always afforded protection. He was buried in the centre of the "Divan Yolou,"—the principal street in Constantinople: a splendid Mausoleum is already commenced. Much sorrow was displayed, if we may judge by the avenues of beholders, who, according to their religion, are forbidden to shew any grief—still it was felt, and at last, evinced by tears, screaming, and lamentations—though they should have remained silently gazing on the ground. The bier was carried by his former Officers of State. The late Emperor was undoubtedly enlightened, for a Moslem; but he had an untractable, prejudiced people to govern, and was thwarted in every way by his Ministers:—he was tainted with the doctrines of fatalism, and imagined that it was vain to contend against the decrees of "Destiny." He had many presentiments of his death; and like Napoleon, allowed himself to be deterred from his purpose, by what he conceived to be *bad omens*. On the 26th of December, 1838, the palace intended for His Highness's daughter, about being given in marriage, was destroyed by fire. This accident, which the whole of the Osmanli population looked upon as a *highly portentous omen*, spread great consternation in the Seraglio. Mahmoud, who was as strongly under the influence of superstition as the most simple-minded among his subjects, considered this prodigy as a *warning* from Heaven, that the person whom he had determined on making his son-in-law, was unworthy of that honour, and that somebody else should be chosen in his stead! In

the month of October, 1838, the Sultan embarked on board a steamer, and repaired to his palace in the island of Chalchy, to witness the manœuvres of the squadron which was about to sail for the Levant. The bad state of the weather was the reason assigned for his sudden return: but it was whispered that, *ill-humour*, and not the weather, was the *real* cause, an incident having occurred which, not only ruffled his temper, but exerted a powerful influence over his mind. Whilst in the act of ascending the vessel's side, the Imperial Sword, which had been loosely buckled round His Highness's waist, *dropped into the sea*, and was instantly *lost!* The Sultan could not conceal the impression which this circumstance produced on him:—he remained speechless for several minutes, evidently absorbed in thoughts of the blackest hue. Not one of his terrified courtiers dared to utter a syllable—until at last, the Seraskier, who, like most of the Members of the Divan, was averse to the renewal of hostilities with the Pascha of Egypt, (but had never presumed to oppose the Emperor's determination,)—seeing at once, how much the interpretation of this ominous circumstance might be rendered favourable to the furtherance of his own views,—threw himself at his master's feet, and exclaimed, "Long live our Lord! Let his soul rejoice, and not mourn at this sign—which cannot be mistaken! Behold! the Prophet has decided the question which has so much agitated the Councils of the Sublime Porte! He has declared that Mohammed's sword is not to be drawn under the present juncture!" For a moment, His Highness's countenance brightened; and the explanation which had been offered, being afterwards confirmed by the "Astrologue," he ordered the fleet to return to its anchorage:—but he never entirely recovered his spirits; and nine months afterwards,—he *died!*

His son, the youthful Abd'-ul-Med'gid who succeeded him, has the reputation of being a zealous Mussulmaun; in testimony whereof, it is said that he issued a Firmaun interdicting the use of wine, under no less a penalty than the confiscation of property; and that to prove his sincerity, he ordered a magnificent stock of wine, and a superb service of crystal, which had belonged to his father, and was estimated at about a million of piastres, to be thrown into the Bosphorus! The following is an authenticated account of the homage rendered to the Sultan Med'gid on his accession to the throne:—

"The Sultana-mother, Valisè, wishing to give to the ladies of Messieurs Duz, the Directors of the Mint, a testimony of her esteem, invited them to the Imperial palace, to be present at the entrance of her son into the Seraglio. The ladies were conveyed in the private barges of the Sultan, and received with a kindness very rarely shown by Turkish Chiefs towards their Christian subjects. From the threshold of the Gynecæum to the principal room, the floor was covered with the richest brocaded stuffs and splendid cashmeres, for the young Padisha of the Osmanlis to walk over, to a magnificent chair or throne,

embroidered with pearls, rubies, and emeralds. The Sultana-mother approached, and, with invocations to God, gave her blessing to her son. Next came the Sultana Isma, his aunt, who presented him with a young female slave, a gift with which Abd'-ul Med'gid appeared to be much gratified, and placed the girl upon a seat nearly as rich as his own. A thousand slaves came in turn, and prostrated themselves at the feet of the Sultan. During the ceremony, young Circassian girls showered handfuls of sequins in the apartment, in such profusion, that it became difficult to walk in it, the feet slipping from treading on them. When all the fair recluses of the Harem had paid their tribute of homage to the Sultan, Mesdames Duz did the same, and afterwards attempted to kiss the feet of Her who had become the Companion of the Grand Seigneur, but she resisted, until the Sultana Valisè desired her to accept this act of homage, as being due to her station. She then submitted, but with a timidity which made the Sultan smile. On taking leave of the Sultana Valisè, Mesdames Duz each received a salver of silver gilt, with six stands for cups, in chased gold, enriched with diamonds, and a cassolette for perfume, of the same metal. The Sultana also presented to all, a handkerchief containing 1000 piastres in gold coin, recommending that they should be carefully preserved in commemoration of the accession of their Sovereign to the throne."

THE MOHAMMEDAN YEAR.

The Era of the Mohammedans is reckoned from the "Hegira" or "Flight of Mohammed," and is dated from the 16th of July, A. D. 622. The Mohammedan *Lunar year* contains 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes, or 12 *months*, which the Arabs thus designate, in reference to their religious festivals:—

1.—Mohhar'ram, *the sacred month*, the 1st day of which corresponds with the	21st of May,	has 30	days.
2.—Sufar, *the happy month*, 1st i. e. the	19th of June	„ 29	„
3.—Rabee'a el-Ow'wal, 1st i. e. the	19th of July	„ 30	„
4.—Rabee'a el-Ta'nee, 1st i. e. the	17th of Aug.	„ 29	„
5.—D'gooma'd el-Ow'wal, or D'gooma'-da-l-Oo'la, 1st i. e. the	15th of Sept.	„ 30	„
6.—D'gooma'd et-Ta'nee, or D'gooma'-da-t-Ta'niyeh, 1st i. e. the	15th of Oct.	„ 29	„
7.—Red'geb, *the noble month*, 1st i. e. the	13th of Nov.	„ 30	„
8.—Shaaba'n, *the glorious month*, 1st i.e. the	15th of Dec.	„ 29	„

9.—Rh'amad'han, *the honored month*, 1st i. e. the	11th of Jan.	„	30 days.
10.—Shaw'wa'l, 1st i. e. the	21st of Feb.	„	29 „
11.—Zoo-l-Cka'adeh, or El-Cka'adeh, 1st i. e. the	23rd of March	„	30 „
12.—Zoo-l-Hheg'geh, or El Heg'geh, *the holy month*, when the pilgrimage to Mekkah is made, 1st i. e. the	21st of April	„	29 „

During Leap Year, the latter has 30 days.

The above varies from year to year, as relates to the seasons; because the Arabs do not reckon intercalary days, to make up the difference between the Lunar year and the Solar year; and thus the same month may occur in the spring, summer, autumn, or winter.* From what I have stated, it appears that the modern Egyptians have no geographical knowledge; they are equally ignorant of the system of the universe: they conceive that the earth is a *plain*, surrounded or bound by two belts — the ocean, and a chain of lofty mountains—the mountains of Ckaf, the abode of Spirits which are constantly passing and repassing between Heaven and Earth; and if any man were so *rash* as to assert that we inhabit a *ball* which is in constant motion, turning on its own axis, and revolving about the sun, and that moreover, the latter is a *fixed body*, they would declare, with few exceptions, that his wits were disturbed, and that he ought to be *looked after*. Of course, they understand nothing about eclipses, the tides, or the seasons; they are equally learned on the subject of the planets, and believe that a "falling star" is a *fiery* dart aimed by the "Great Spirit," at one of the "Ghinnies" (Fairies).†

MOHAMMEDAN PRINCIPLES—THE PATRIARCHS—SUPERSTITION, &c.

The Osmanlis believe our Saviour to be a Prophet, but not the "Son of God;" and they have a respect for almost all those whom the Bible declares to have obtained favour at the hands of God. They profess great veneration for the Old Testament and the Law of Moses:—the fact is, the Khoran is founded on the Mosaic Dispensation:—they imagine that the true religion was altered, and that Mohammed the Prophet was sent by the Almighty from Heaven, to *purify* it. Accordingly, this same Prophet and his followers are declared to be descended from

* For an account of the Arab method of computing time, see Vol. I, p. 345.

† See Vol. I. p. 372. et esq., also Vol. II. Chap. IX; compare this with p. 303.

Ismael and Abraham, in whose seed, "all the nations of the earth shall be blessed." Noah, or "Nouh," is in high estimation with them; because they believe he saved the world from absolute destruction; and they assert that Abraham left his country to become the "Father of the Faithful," in obedience to the express commands of God. At the same time, they do not deny the miracles of our Saviour, who in the Khoran is designated "D'Issa,"—and they even attribute others to Him which are set forth in the Talmud, and the books of the Jewish Rabbis:—they place implicit confidence in the account which the Bible gives of the "Passage of the Red Sea,"*—and they revere the memory of Solomon, Job, or "Ayoub," and Jonas or "Younès." They profess to hate the Devil and his Angels, and to abhor Cain, Nimrod, the Pharaohs of Egypt, and all the Heathen Idols of Arabia,—as "Lat," "Minat,' "Ozza," &c.

The Prophet assumed to himself three names, "Mohammed," "Mahomet," or "Mehemet" *on earth;* and generally pronounced by the Arabs as if it were written "Am'hh'ammed"—"Ahmed," or "Achmet" *in Heaven;*—and "Mahmoud" *in Hell!* All these, but especially the two first, are held *sacred*, and it is thought that those who bear them will go to Paradise. The Mussulmauns think less of titles than we do; but they glory in being able to claim relationship with the Prophet:—those who think themselves entitled to this honour, or who have made the pilgrimage to Mekkah, are called "Hadgi:"—they are generally great fanatics, insolent and overbearing—although their religion teaches that "*all men are equal before God!*"† There is scarcely a Mohammedan who does not believe in astrology, magic, and sorcery:—all are more or less under the influence of superstition: anything mysterious is attributed by them to supernatural agency—evil spirits, fairies, or the "Evil Eye:"—they are continually asking for "talismans" and "waraga," or charms; and they have great faith in "amulets," or invocations, to produce good, preserve from harm, and procure the fulfilment of their desires:—to this end, fumigations and mirrors are thought to have a most remarkable effect, quotations from the Khoran suspended about the person, and mystical signs, and writing in some strange language.‡ At one period, the dogs in and about Constantinople, became so numerous and so noisy, that the Divan published a decree that they should be carried over to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and there turned loose—it being contrary to the doctrines of the Khoran to destroy life, otherwise they would have been shot;—the decree was immediately enforced, to the delight of everybody: but it so happened that a fire broke out the same evening, in Turk-town, which disconcerted the Authorities not a *little*, and repenting of the *rash act* which they

* See Vol. II. p. 52 and 310.—Vol. I. p. 367, et seq.; also p. 206 and 343.

† See Vol. I. p. 265, et seq. ‡ See Vol. I. p. 73 and 331; and Vol. II. Chap. ix.

had just committed, another decree was issued that the dogs should be *brought back again*, with all possible dispatch, which was accordingly done, and it was most ludicrous to see a procession of boats traversing the Bosphorus for the next forty-eight hours, laden with grave Osmanlis and *mangy curs!* *

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION IN TURKEY.

According to the system which has been so long in force throughout the Ottoman Empire, the delegates of the Sultan resident in the Provinces, have it in their power to practise the grossest tyranny and injustice. Take the following as an illustration. A certain Governor of Philippopoli having offered a larger sum than his competitors to Emin Pascha of Adrianople, for *the farming of its revenues*, did not fail from the day his administration commenced, to employ all the means in his power, to render his speculation *lucrative*. The failure of the crops throughout the district, however, occasioned so much misery, that he began to foresee—instead of the golden harvest he anticipated,—a considerable loss, unless he called into operation the powers of threats and violence. Bent on schemes of spoliation, he summoned into his presence the Osmanli and Greek Municipal Officers, to inform them, that having considered it meet to rebuild the palace of the Governor at Philippopoli, he expected they would provide him with the necessary funds. The principal architect, a Greek, was sent for, who, after examining the plan laid before him by the Governor, declared his readiness to undertake the building for the sum of 150,000 piastres—an estimate, considering the cheapness of building materials in the Province, and the low rate of wages, altogether exorbitant. The Agahs and Greek Primates withdrew, without venturing to make any observation, much less a *remonstrance*, assuring the Governor that they would themselves concert with their constituents, as to the means of raising the required contribution. The Greek architect alone, at the Governor's invitation, remained behind with the Mollah. The two magistrates, after using fair promises and the fiercest threats, ultimately prevailed upon him to draw out a fresh estimate of expenses, *double* that first mentioned, and then to present it to the Turkish and Greek community! To prevent the Governor from suspecting the steps they were secretly taking against him, the Municipal Officers advanced him the sum of 60,000 piastres, declaring they would pay the rest of the contribution, on obtaining a loan. The building was rapidly being raised, and the two

* See ante, p. 328; and Vol. II. p. 595.

Magistrates were congratulating themselves on the success of their extortion, when Emim Pascha, to whom the inhabitants of Phillippopoli had applied for redress, unexpectedly arrived in the town, under pretence of passing the local militia in review. Finding upon enquiry, that the statement of grievances laid before him by the inhabitants, was well-founded, he sent for the Greek architect, and having obliged him to confess in what manner the Governor and the Mollah had prevailed upon him to claim for the erection of the palace, so exorbitant a sum, he summoned both of the Magistrates before him, and with a severe rebuke, condemned them to refund the sum they had received, and to pay the expenses already incurred, out of their own purse. A few days only had elapsed after the Pascha's departure for Adrianople, when an alarm of fire startled the inhabitants out of their sleep. The fire broke out in the house of the Greek architect;—thanks to the exertions made, it was promptly extinguished, but to the inexpressible horror of their fellow-citizens, the bodies of the proprietor, his wife, children, and servants were found, in different parts of the house, with their throats cut. The only individual who had escaped the assassin's knife, was the architect's eldest son, who slept in the upper part of the house. The Governor, informed of the circumstance, seized it greedily as a means whereby to conceal the horrible plot of which he had been the perpetrator. He accused the Greek youth of having murdered his parents, and set fire to the house, in the hope of thus preventing the detection of his crimes, threw him into prison, and submitted him to the most cruel ordeal of the torture-engine, to extract from him the avowal of his guilt. Disappointed in his expectations, this monster was on the point of leading his victim to the scaffold, when a messenger arrived from Constantinople, bringing in answer to the statement laid before the Council at Stamboul, the sentence of *destitution* against the Governor and the Judge, and of their exile into Asia Minor.—This is only one of a thousand instances which might be adduced, of the same odious nature. A similar *spirit* of venality and corruption still prevails through every department of Government—more especially in Syria, and other remote Provinces.

TURKISH PROPHECY.

The following is extracted from a book of Prophecies called "Muhamedys," which is held in veneration by the Turks. "The Turkish Empire shall conquer Rome, and make the Pope Patriarch of Jerusalem; and he shall some time after, profess the Mohammedan faith.

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Christ shall then come, and shew the Christians their error in not having accepted the Khoran, and instruct them that the dove which came down from Heaven, was not the Holy Ghost, but was Mohammed, who shall be again upon earth, thirty years, and confirm the Khoran by new miracles. After this time, the power of the Turks shall decline, till they retire into the desert of Arabia, and then there shall be an end of the world. Their overthrow shall be accomplished by a people from the North, called "Canmies fer," (yellow-haired sons.) The ruin of Constantinople shall happen in one Sultan Mohammed's time, and then the Turks shall be reduced to so few in number, that sixty Turkish women shall have but one husband amongst them." *

THE OVER-LAND COMMUNICATION WITH INDIA, AND STEAM NAVIGATION TO THE LEVANT.†

Of all the important changes which have recently taken place in Egypt, there is nothing which is so highly calculated to promote civilization, as the facility of intercourse which is now afforded by steam communication to all parts of the Levant. Mohammed Ali has shewn his wisdom by adopting the plan proposed by the English; and if his vanity had not been flattered by French diplomacy, it is probable that he would have discovered by these very overtures, that it is the interest of both countries to act in concert, and to be on terms of sincere friendship. A plan of over-land communication with India had long been talked off; but the Pascha suffered himself to be persuaded that the English wanted to get a footing in the land, and rob him of his territory, forgetting that such a round-about scheme was quite unnecessary had they been so inclined, and that by so doing, England would involve herself in a general war with Europe; but it is curious how short-sighted men of great genius sometimes are in regard to matters of common sense.

A steam navigation fund was established in India; and in the spring of 1838, Col. Barr, aided by Col. Campbell, the British Consul General, succeeded in over-ruling the Viceroy's prejudices, and in spite of French intrigue, made arrangements for facilitating the transit of passengers through Egypt. It was agreed that stations should be erected in the desert between Cairo and Suez, with sleeping-rooms, stables, tanks for water, and other requisites, and Messrs. Raven and Hill undertook to

* See page 48, 349, 358, and 455; and Vol. II. p. 121, 131, 137, and 161.

† See p. 57, 128, 283, and 325: also Vol. II. Chap. II. IV. and V. p. 196.

furnish tents, waggons, carriages and horses; they also opened a branch hotel at Suez. In furtherance of the plan, Mohammed Ali ordered boats to be built for the Nile and the canal, and the English provided steamers to ply between Bombay and Suez. The plan came into successful operation, but was abandoned in December 1838, in consequence of a sudden revival of the Pascha's fears that the English might convert these station-houses into forts. The ancient mode of travelling was then for a time resumed, and the privilege of transporting passengers by dromedaries was sold to Mr. Waghorn, but during the short period above mentioned, no less than 800 persons passed between Bombay and Cairo. Great credit is due to Mr. Waghorn: he obtained the Pascha's consent to establish English steamers on the Nile, and received a handsome public testimonial as an acknowledgment of his services. Since that time, the Viceroy has bought his experience; and whether he has confidence in the English or not, he has at least learned that we have no thought of taking possession of Egypt, notwithstanding he protested against our sending troops through his territory. Mr. Waghorn continued his exertions, and the journey to India is now little more than an excursion of pleasure, instead of a tedious and formidable sea voyage. According to the improved arrangements of the Oriental Steam Navigation Company, a large vessel of between 1540 and 1670 tons, and with an engine of upwards of 450 horse power, leaves Falmouth on the first of every month, and the means of *transit* through Egypt are materially extended. A large iron boat of 130 tons, tracked by four horses, conveys the passengers from Alexandria by the Mahmoudieh Canal, to Atfieh on the Nile, whence they proceed by an iron steamer, (the "Cairo," or "Lotus,") to Boolak, the port of Cairo, where there is a steam-boat always in readiness to convey those who are coming from India, down the river. Thus a double route is established: for the steam-boat which arrives from Atfieh, after landing her passengers at Boolak, and remaining a day or two for their accommodation, ascends the Nile as far as Thebes, halting a short time at the principal places. There is now a regular conveyance between Kheneh and Kosseir on the Red Sea (about 120 miles,) and between Cairo and Suez (about eighty-four miles.) The steamers running between Suez and India touch at Kosseir regularly out and home, for the purpose of landing or embarking such as may prefer the route by Upper Egypt. Arrangements are also made for protecting travellers, as much as possible, from risk when the plague is raging; but I suppose there is no *Act of Parliament* against disease! Moreover, large steamers leave Malta every ten days, for Zante, Corfu, and Trieste, Genoa, Naples, Leghorn, Athens, Smyrna, Constantinople, Sinope, Samsoon, and Trebizonde, returning to Malta by the same route; the days of departure from, and arrival at Malta, being so arranged as to coincide with those of the vessels on the main line between England and Alexandria.

Besides these, French, Austrian, and Russian steamers arrive at Constantinople from the Archipelago and the Black Sea, every ten days: and there are ten steam-boats with English machinery, plying regularly between the French Ports and those of the Mediterranean. It requires seventy-two hours to steam from Marseilles to Malta, including fourteen hours delay on shore at Leghorn and Civita Vecchia; and 150 hours to steam from Malta to Alexandria, touching at Syra; so that it is quite possible to proceed from London viâ Calais and Marseilles, and be in time for the steamer at Suez in three weeks; but travellers will do well to allow themselves a month or six weeks, especially if they wish to see any thing *en route*. The Company's track-boats on the Mahmoudieh canal are too heavy for speed: but they are commodious. Besides the luggage room, there is a saloon, and a separate cabin for ladies, both fitted up with divans and tables; the windows are on the sides like a Gravesend steamer, and there is no want of cleanliness or refreshments. Atfieh, a distance of fifty miles, is reached in twelve hours, for which there is a charge of 1*l*. The distance from Atfieh to Boolak varies from 120 to 130 miles according to the season: but the journey may be accomplished in twenty hours against the stream, and the chief fare is 3*l*. In future, the heavy luggage will be forwarded in separate boats.

Messrs. Waghorn and Hill have provided excellent accommodation both in Alexandria, Cairo and Suez, for twelve shillings per diem, each person, including a liberal entertainment in the European style.

There are now *three* modes of travelling between Cairo and Suez: 1. in from sixteen to twenty-four hours, by *small spring carts*, called coaches or omnibuses, under the superintendence of Messrs. Hill and Co: the fare is 6*l*., including camels for the transport of luggage, which, with Indian travellers, is sometimes considerable: Servants and children pay half price. 2. by *donkey-litters* or *donkeys*, which requires from thirty to fifty hours, and for which sixteen shillings each is paid. 3. by *dromedaries*, which requires from twenty-five to thirty hours, and for which there is a charge of eight or ten shillings each: but those who travel by the two latter means, pay *one pound* for the support of the station-houses, which are seven in number, and twelve miles apart. At Nos. 2, 4, and 6, beds and refreshments are provided: the others are chiefly stables.

The *letters* are conveyed by dromedaries in eighteen hours, so that correspondence may now be carried on between London and Suez *in* seventeen days, and with Bombay in thirty-five days. I insert the following extract from a traveller's journal:—"Cairo, 23rd Feb. Started for Suez at nine A. M. Our party consisted of fifty passengers, including twelve ladies and three female servants. The mails consisted of sixty-two chests and three bags. For the conveyance of the whole, we required 145 camels, sixty donkeys, twelve saddle horses; twelve carriage horses, seven dromedaries, twelve donkey-chairs, three two-

wheeled carriages, and one four-wheeled carriage. The camel and donkey drivers, and servants numbered 130, and the escort of Arab horsemen furnished by Mohammed Ali, seventeen, making up a total of 197 *bipeds*. Having journeyed twenty miles, we halted at station No. 2, where we partook of roast fowls, turkeys, and geese, hams, mutton, London porter, pale ale, port, sherry, Maderia, claret, and champagne, with all the necessary (?) accompaniments, in the *pic-nic* style—and were entertained by the Arabs, who displayed their skill in horsemanship, and dexterity in 'throwing the d'gereed.' At midnight, we halted at the centre station, forty miles from Cairo. Here we had tea, and afterwards, *supper!* We passed the night here—(query, *slept*). Before starting in the morning, we had a substantial breakfast, and on arriving at No. 6 station, another *pic-nic* dinner. We reached Suez at 4 A. M. on the 25th; slept at the hotels, and embarked on board the E. I. Company's steamer for Bombay." I conclude they halted during the extreme heat, and slept—those that could: for after so much feasting, they must have been in a fine state of excitement, and if they continued repleting in such sort, they would assuredly be attacked with fever on landing, if they even reached Bombay in safety. On such a journey, it is the height of imprudence to take more than a simple pilaf of rice, onions, and chicken, with dates, water-melon, tea, coffee, and the like. Beer, and wine, unless freely diluted, are heating and prejudicial.* The passage from Suez to Bombay is 80*l.*, or 60*l.* if the passenger is willing to sleep on deck, which I should say, for a gentleman, is decidedly the best place, as no other distinction is made between him and a cabin passenger.

The route from England to Bombay may be thus estimated:

From London to Paris	3 days	....	£4
In Paris	1 „	....	1
From Paris to Chalons	2 „	....	3
From Chalons to Lyons	1 „	....	1
From Lyons to Avignon	2 „	....	3
From Avignon to Marseilles	1 „	....	2
From Marseilles to Alexandria	10 „	....	28
From Alexandria to Suez	4 „	....	12
From Suez to Bombay	18 „	....	80
Expenses at Alexandria, Cairo, and Suez		....	2
Sundries and casualties		....	4
	42 days		£140

* See p. 190, 198, 209, 313 and 318.

Or, from Falmouth to Alexandria direct by one of the Company's steamers	15 or 16 days	£46	10
From Alexandria to Suez	4 „	12	0
From Suez to Bombay	18 „	80	0
Expenses at Alexandria, Cairo, and Suez	....	2	0
Sundries and casualties	....		
	38 days	£140	10

Thus it appears that *the overland* journey from England to India viâ Egypt, may be accomplished *conveniently* in about .....38 or 42 days
To return by the same route may require.....40 „ 44 „
The route by Antioch and the Euphrates..... 44 „
To return by the Euphrates ..... 46 „
The route by Malta, Constantinople, and Trebizonde, on the southern shores of the Black Sea, and thence by land through Teheran, to Bushiri in the Persian Gulf (including 22 days posting) about ..... 60 „
The same journey, *proceeding to Trebizonde by Vienna and the Danube*, from about .....53 to 55 „
It appears that if a line of steamers were established, the journey might even be made by the Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope, in from.....60 to 65 „

The latter suggestion was offered to the public by a gentleman signing himself "R. S." and who considers that the best way to India is *Britain's highway*—the high seas—because we shall not then, he says, be detained by tedious quarantines; we shall have no hordes of savages to contend with; we shall have no *transit duty* to pay; neither shall we be at the mercy and caprice of the Rulers of Egypt—to say nothing of coral-rocks, monsoons, shifting sands, and disease! It would be quicker, more regular, and safer in the end, he observes; for the winter between the latitudes of England and Gibraltar is as bad as can be met with any where in the whole voyage. Let there be steam ships of 1000 tons and 450 horse power engines, so built that they might, on sudden emergencies, be armed. Let the voyage be divided into *three* stages, as follows:

	Nautical miles.
1.—From Portsmouth to Ascension ..... (Calling for coals at St. Vincent, one of the Cape de Verd Islands, 2,450 miles.)	4,100
2.—From Ascension to the Mauritius ..... (Taking in coals at Hout Bay, Cape of Good Hope, 2,200 miles.)	4,430
3.—From Mauritius to Calcutta .... (Taking coals at Point de Galle, in Ceylon, 2,150 miles, *whence there might be a branch steamer to Bombay.*)	3,400

Three steamers to each station will admit of proper time for *overhauling*, and putting machinery in order, absolutely necessary at the end of each passage. The vessels should be made gradually to change stations, so as to return to England in regular rotation, or as may be required for repairs, new boilers, &c., and there should be two additional vessels for the Bombay Branch, which would secure a monthly communication with India—the passage not exceeding upon the average, sixty or sixty-five days, *in the worst season of the year.*"

Before quitting this subject, I may mention that in 1834, Mr. Robert Tod, a British merchant of Damascus, and who has also a house at Bagdad, organized a line of couriers between these two cities, aided by Colonel Taylor, the Chargè d'Affaires at the latter, and under the sanction of the Syrian Authorities. A courier was dispatched once every twenty days from Damascus, and arrived at Bussorah in from sixteen to twenty-three days, whence the letters were forwarded by the first vessel, to Bombay. A Government Tahtah now leaves Constantinople regularly once a month, who conveys the letters to Aleppo in about ten days: so that by these means, the communication with the Persian Gulf would stand thus:

From London to Constantinople	from	16	to 18	days.
From Constantinople to Aleppo.....	„	8	„ 10	„
From Aleppo to Damascus.....	„	5	„ 6	„
From Damascus to Bagdad.....	„	10	„ 15	„
From Bagdad to Bussorah.....			7	„
			56	days.

In cases where the expense is not an object, an Express would get over the ground in much less time: but by such a route, the communication must always be very uncertain, on account of the refractory disposition of the wandering tribes, and would only be attempted, I should think, in the event of the communication by Egypt or the Euphrates being cut off.

Four iron steamers (thanks to Colonel Chesney) now float on the broad waters of the Euphrates; and the ultimate success of that gentleman's plans will mainly depend on those who have charge of the navigation.*

THE TRANSIT OF GOODS THROUGH EGYPT, AND THE NAVIGATION OF THE NILE.

On the 4th of September, 1841, Mr. Anderson, one of the managing directors of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, returned to Alexandria from Constantinople, where he had been making

* See Vol. II. p. 196.

arrangements for the extension of their line of steamers to the Bosphorus and the Black Sea. He first came to Egypt five or six months previously, but affairs were then disordered, and nothing was done. He now pointed out to Mohammed Ali the intentions, principles, prospects, and objects of the Company, and satisfied him that it had nothing to do with politics, but was an Association of British merchants. He represented that if this route were made preferable to that by the Cape, merchandise to the value of 2,000,000*l.* sterling would pass through Egypt annually — giving employment to his subjects, and circulating an enormous capital among them which would enrich not only individuals, but the Treasury: further, that a duty of *one half* per cent., would pay the Government 10,000*l.* per annum, but that if a higher rate were made, this route would be abandoned: that he therefore hoped the Pascha would accede to his proposals, undertake to protect goods, and cause the roads between Cairo and Suez, Kheneh and Kosseir, to be cleared. Three or four days afterwards, Mr. Anderson received for answer through Boghos Youssouff Bey, "That any amount of merchandise might pass during 1842, provided at the end of the year, the Company would pay whatever duty they thought him entitled to: that he would protect their property as much as he could, and afford them every facility in his power—and that the Company had his entire confidence, because it was incorporated by Royal Charter. He added, that he would improve the state of the roads, and cause a tariff to be drawn out, regulating the charges for boat and camel hire." According to the arrangements made, merchants sending their goods through Egypt, have no direct transit duty to pay, the Company being accountable for it to the Pascha. His Highness is content to receive *one half* per cent., instead of the *three* per cent. ad valorem duty, payable under the treaties and convention of commerce, made between Great Britain and the Porte in 1838. This is a great advantage, because all valuable articles will now be sent by the Mediterranean, and benefit Malta, which will become the Entrepôt for the Oriental trade; and by means of steam, the communication with India is made *in weeks instead of months*. The Convention was to take effect on and from the 1st of January, 1842.

Some time ago, Boghos Youssouff Bey issued a notice that any person might build boats on the Mahmoudieh canal, or on the Nile, on the following conditions:

1. That the Captain and crew of the boats should be all Egyptian.
2. That the flag carried by the boats should be that of the country, and that they should pay the established tonnage duty.

Mohammed Ali was willing that British boats should navigate to Sennaar, but thought the trade carried on by barks ought to be left to the natives. Many persons suppose, because the English have hitherto been allowed to do almost anything they chose, and their flag has been

respected, that they have *a right* to navigate wherever they please, not only hoisting the British colours, but claiming indemnity and exemption wherever they go: but this is not the case, and the Consul General suggested to the Pascha, that Europeans proceeding to the interior should be furnished with His Highness's firmaun to protect them from the over officiousness of the petty Authorities. The Nile steamers draw about three feet of water: there are several continually afloat, and the traveller is reminded of his native rivers. In December 1839, three gun-boats made their appearance, with the Roman flag flying: they had on board, the columns from Upper Egypt which Mohammed Ali had presented to the Pope. The pious Moslems gazed with surprise and indignation at the Papal colours, supposing them to be the standards of the *Jews*—whose physiognomy they recognised in the full length figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, as they fluttered in the breeze. In the summer of 1838, Galloway Bey made trial of a temporary railroad, 300 yards long, under the windows of the Seraglio. The experiment succeeded, and the Pascha was much pleased, and *tram work* was subsequently laid down on the banks of the canal, for the conveyance of cargoes of grain to the Government magazines; but it was continually getting out of order, and ultimately abandoned; and the preference is now given to baskets and the fellahs' backs, as formerly.*

THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS AND COTTON MILLS.†

The Pascha's attempt to organize Establishments for the education of youth, does him great honour, and is a convincing proof of his comprehensive genius and intelligence. These useful Institutions consist chiefly of

1. *The College of Kasserlyne:* delightfully situated on the right bank of the Er-Rhoudah canal. Opposite, are the gardens of Ibrahim Pascha, and the palace of Sheriff Bey: the Seraskier's Divan is on the left; and near at hand, in the midst of a grove of stately sycamores, there is a large religious edifice of the Moslems, which was formerly the residence of Mourad Bey: the intervening spaces being now cleared, levelled, and planted. This Establishment is a sort of preparatory school for young gentlemen of promising talents, selected as suitable persons to be distributed when duly qualified, among the various departments under Government. There are generally from

* See page 118, and Vol. II. p. 63, 568, and 597.

† See page 316, 387, and 432; also Vol. II. page 21, and 575.

1000 to 1200 of them: they are fed and clothed by Mohammed Ali, and provided with books, stationery, pocket money, and every other necessary. There is a library at their disposal, containing about 12,000 volumes, chiefly French and Italian; but by all accounts, in a beautiful state of confusion, and very little used: for after a time, the European Professors were dismissed, and the Lancasterian system being introduced, it was imagined that the senior pupils might instruct the rest: everything was regulated by beat of drum, and—the *Koorbasch:* nevertheless, the indolent spirit, natural to Orientals, soon gained the ascendancy; and as no attention was paid to morals, the young men engaged in every species of debauchery;—considering themselves as the acknowledged protegés of the Viceroy, (although in fact, they voluntarily parted with their liberty, the moment they entered the College, and rendered themselves liable to be disposed of as His Highness thought fit,) they became arrogant, dissipated, and diseased, contracted syphilis, ophthalmia, and itch, in their most virulent forms, and although the Institution is furnished with baths and a Hospital, we are credibly informed that in 1832, 300 of them, (many only twelve years of age,) were sent off, *en masse*, to the Infirmary at Aboo Zabel. There is another building adjoining, which may be considered a branch of this: it is called a *School for Mamlûks*, being intended for the instruction of Europeans: the Teachers are Mohammedans, the pupils chiefly Greeks, the system pursued, similar, the result the same. By far the most respectable of the Pascha's *elèves*, are those educated at

2. *The School of Cadets:* a noble Establishment on the banks of the river, a little to the north of Ghizeh—formerly a palace of Toussoon Pascha. The inmates are Turks, Georgians, and Circassians, extremely well behaved, and many of them highly talented individuals. They are made acquainted with the Art of war, drawing, and fortification,—the principal European and Oriental languages, and horsemanship, in which they excel: their Teachers are chosen from both Franks and Natives; they have a military air about them, and when, during the late wars, they were placed at the head of a newly organized corps, they conducted themselves well.

3. *The School of Engineers* is at Khanka: the pupils learn surveying, modelling, drawing, mining, and fortification, and are selected from the number of those who distinguish themselves at *Kasserlyne*. The same may be said of

4. *The Artillery College* at Toura, where the Art of gunnery is taught in all its branches, by Europeans, as well as mathematics, and the current languages of the day.

5. *The Naval School* is of course located at Alexandria, in the Arsenal, where everything ascertaining to ship-building and navigation is taught; and as I have already stated, practical instructions are given to young men on board every ship of war:—the Arabs, however, have

a strong aversion to a sea-faring life; and as, for the most part, no dependence can be placed on the Officers, there is very little subordination, either in the schools or in the fleet. There is no want of talent or courage, but they are made sailors *by force*. The subjects pursued in the citadel, at

6. *The Academy of Music*, are much more congenial with their habits and feelings; they learn the most difficult Italian and German compositions with very little trouble; they perform with taste and expression, and do great credit to the Professors, who are Germans and French. Every ship in the Pascha's navy has a band. An attempt was once made to manufacture musical instruments in Egypt; but it failed, and they are now imported from Europe.*

7. *The School of Medicine* is at Aboo Zabel, near Cairo. Every requisite has been provided, and no expense spared. The Hospital can accommodate 600 patients. The residence of the Professors and the Pupils is separated from it by a fine esplanade of orange-trees, sycamore, mimosa, and palms. Unfortunately, the students are called into active practice at the expiration of four years, when they cannot know anything of their profession. Several eunuchs and females are initiated in the mysteries of the Obstetric Art, that they may attend the ladies of the Seraglio.†

In addition to the above, we may enumerate a School for *Veterinary Surgery*—a School of *Agriculture*, where the subject of *Irrigation* is considered, the principles of Hydraulics, and the Art of *Boring for Water* and *making roads*. An effort is also making to teach the soldiers and sailors to read and write; and no man is promoted to the rank of corporal, who is ignorant of these fundamental principles of education. Mr. Bartholomew, an English missionary, applied for permission to open a school by subscription, for the education of all who would attend, whether Mohammedans, Christians, Jews, or Infidels. This the Viceroy objected to, but offered to defray the expenses himself, if the school were exclusively for *Arabs*, provided their religious feelings were not interfered with. There could, I conceive, be no objection to this, seeing that education is the first step to civilization. Now, all this liberality indicates a strong desire on the part of Mohammed Ali to improve the political condition of the country. He is quite aware that the Turks and Egyptians are not in a state to cope with Europeans, and I am at all times ready to give him credit for his intelligence and shrewdness: but I blame him for attempting to do all *at once*, regardless of the people's good, especially as we know that self-aggrandizement is his only motive. His ambitious schemes have, to a certain extent, failed; and if he will only *take time, encourage free labour, and give up his monopolies*, he may restore the resources of his country,

* See page 140 and 175.

† See p. 68, 105, 194, 205, 334; and Vol. II. p. 581.

and make the Egyptians an influential people. There is a great deal of inconsistency in his conduct: he places young men of talent where they may be instructed in the various Arts and Sciences, and takes them away before they are qualified to act; and even those whom he has sent to be educated in England and France, are required to do, on their return, anything but what they have been taught: moreover, those who are sent to the different Establishments in his Dominions, which are, many of them, really good, are unlikely to answer his expectations, because they are, for the most part, drafted from that sink of iniquity, *the College of Kasserlyne*. This reasoning applies equally to the *manufacturing departments*. The Pascha's comprehensive mind led him to attempt any scheme that was likely to place him on a par with Europeans. No matter how arduous the undertaking, he must imitate the Franks in everything, without reflecting that the great works which he admired, had been the result of many years' experience, and accomplished only by slow degrees.* To use a vulgar expression—"he had too many irons in the fire" to succeed; and it is much to be regretted, that with such extraordinary intellect, a little common sense did not enable him to see through the interested designs of the people about him; but he was too infatuated with the specious plausibility of their manœuvres, to be diverted from his purpose. At the instigation of Continental artizans, he began in 1819, to turn his attention, not to *agriculture*, as he ought to have done, but to manufactures: the only benefit resulting from it was the clearing of a horrible district of Cairo, notorious for murders, and the most degrading vices—this was *Krom-fesch*: a vast quantity of machinery was imported, and factories, cotton-mills, and magazines were speedily constructed: we have seen with what result. I do not mean to say that no success attended the undertaking; but nothing in comparison with the sacrifice of life and capital! The same system of *forced labour* was adopted throughout; and during the late campaigns, most of the factories were abandoned altogether. There are not less, I believe, than twenty-five or twenty-six cotton-mills in Egypt:—at first Nubians were employed; but people who were accustomed to breathe only the pure and rarefied air of the desert, could not exist in such dens, and their ranks were rapidly thinned; and the cruelties that were permitted, caused the death of many thousands of the wretched fellahs, whilst others were lamed for life, by the brutal exercise of the *Koorbasch*. There is scarcely a mill that has not been purposely set on fire, and men have been known to cut and maim themselves, and commit suicide, rather than toil in what, in such a climate, is truly a revolting prison-house. Again, in a country like Egypt, where at certain seasons, the atmosphere is loaded with sand, the machinery is continually getting out of order; and when it is borne in mind, how much the Pascha is robbed by his *Nazirs*, and how much

* See page 113, 129, 316, 365, 403, 432, and 451.

he must lose by the carelessness and ignorance of the workmen, it is evident to all, that notwithstanding his arbitrary regulations and monopolies, it is quite impossible it can ever answer his purpose to carry on such absurd speculations: I believe he is pretty well convinced of the fact; for he discovers that he is plundered on all sides, and in ways which are utterly beyond his control:—a great deal of his machinery is now lying covered with rust or dirt, and several of his factories are abandoned, and in ruins. I have already stated that Ibrahim Pascha disapproves of his father's policy, in many respects; and he has clearly demonstrated, that according to the present system, serious losses are sustained by the Egyptian Government, even by the exporting of raw cotton: but Mohammed Ali will not be dictated to, and he adheres to his old prejudices with the most obstinate infatuation. He is still flattered and cajoled by men who find it their interest to humour his caprices, and turns a deaf ear to those who are honest enough to tell him the less acceptable truth.

CURIOUS ANTICIPATION OF MODERN EVENTS.

In the works of Roger Bacon, who wrote in the thirteenth century, may be found an anticipation of the invention of the steam-boat, locomotive engines on rail-roads, the diving bell, the suspension bridge, and it might almost be said, of the recent events at St. Jean d'Acre. His own words are these:—"Men may construct for the wants of navigation, such machines, that the greatest vessels, directed by a single man, shall cut through the rivers and seas with more rapidity than if they were propelled by rowers; chariots may be constructed, which, without horses, shall run with immeasurable speed. Men may conceive machines which could bear the diver, without danger, to the depth of the waters. Men could invent a multitude of other engines and useful instruments, such as bridges that shall span the broadest rivers without any intermediate support. Art hath its thunders also which are terrible to think of. A small quantity of matter produces a horrible explosion, accompanied by a bright light, and this may be repeated so as to destroy a city or entire battalions."

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Letters to Mr in Cairo -

Mustafa Ali - Saddle-Bags - Gold - Lace -

Silk & Stuff for Bagdad -

Abraham - (San Jose Calif.)

Isaak - (Hawley Mahan)